The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1889.

The Week.

TELEGRAMS from Indianapolis make it almost certain that Mr. Allison is to be the next Secretary of the Treasury, and leave little room to doubt that Mr. Blaine is to be Secretary of State. As to the former, it may fairly be said that, next to Mr. Sherman, Mr. Allison is the fittest man in the party to be at the head of the Treasury. His qualifications are, close acquaintance with the public finances in all departments, thorough knowledge of the underlying principles of finance, equal knowledge of political machinery in general, the confidence of his party associates, an unsullied personal reputation, and a very liberal endowment of *savoir faire*. These would seem to be all the qualifications necessary for a successful administration of the Treasury, but it must be added that Mr. Allison is not a strong man in the sense of one "having convictions." He has never had any financial policy which he would enforce against the will of the people, or what he considered to be their will. Nobody except Mr. Sherman has had greater opportunities in our time to impress himself upon the financial policy of the country. Yet he has made no such impression. The silver bill that is associated with his name is a makeshift, a device, a dodge, and it does not yet appear whether it is a better policy than the original Bland bill would have been. If the Bland bill had passed, the mischief it would have caused would in all probability have worked its own cure ere now. What the Allison bill will do, nobody can yet say.

On the absorbing question of the tariff Mr. Allison's course has been highly inconsistent. The inconsistency has not been of the kind which is allowable to statesmen, and is sometimes, as in the case of Sir Robert Peel, the mark of statesmanship; because it does not admit of explanation. Otherwise, undoubtedly, Mr. Allison would himself have attempted to explain it. When a man says, for instance, that the nation has passed, in the industrial sense, beyond the period of tutelage, and ought to reach out for a share in the commerce of the world by lowering the duties on raw materials, he is bound, when he advocates the very opposite policy, to give as good reasons for his change as he gave for his original position, or at all events to give some reasons. Mr. Allison has given no reasons. He has never answered himself as Sir Robert Peel did. His speech of March 25, 1870, was in some respects the best low-tariff speech made since the close of the war. Nineteen years have passed, and each year has given new emphasis to the facts he then pointed to and the arguments he based upon them. If we had passed the period of tutelage then (Henry Clay thought we had passed it in 1838), how much more have we passed it now! Yet we find the same Mr. Allison, in the year 1889, voting for higher duties on wool and tin plates, and for a real bill of abominations, whose effect must be, according to his own earlier showing, to still further disable us from taking our true place in the commerce of the world.

Our views of Mr. Blaine as a public character do not need to be repeated. Desiring that Mr. Harrison's Administration shall be creditable and beneficial to the country, we have hoped that he would not call such a trickster to his councils. Mr. Blaine's position in the Republican party is such that he cannot, in the estimation of the Blaine faction, hold a second place. If he is Secretary of State, he will be, to their minds, the most important figure in the Administration, Mr. Harrison not excepted. This may be an erroneous estimate, but it is likely to prove an embarrassing one. If Mr. Blaine goes in, he takes with him, in addition to all his natural aptitudes for mischief, a backing of mischief which no other man could muster.

The President, in his communication to Congress on the 16th of January, said that the war ship *Trenton*, under the command of Admiral Kimberley, had been ordered to join the *Nipsic*, already in Samoan waters, "for the better protection of the persons and property of our citizens, and in furtherance of efforts to restore order and safety." A definition of what is meant by the furtherance of efforts to restore order and safety is supplied by the instructions of Secretary Whitney to Admiral Kimberley. The latter is informed that "the German Government invites this Government, in the common interest, to join in establishing order in Samoa, giving assurance of careful respect for our treaty rights." Then the Admiral is directed to extend full protection to American citizens and property, and to coöperate with the German and British Governments in restoring peace and order. Beyond this he is not allowed to do anything except to "protest against the subjugation and displacement of the native government of Samoa by Germany." These are perfectly safe instructions, but they do not help us to understand how the proposed appropriation of $500,000 is to be used. The expenses of the navy are paid out of the regular naval appropriation. The extra appropriation, if made, must be for an extraordinary purpose. What is that purpose? Some light is thrown upon the situation by a telegram to the Baltimore *Sun*, which represents Secretary Bayard as saying:

> "The question for Americans to consider is whether we shall continue to maintain neutrality as between Mataafa and the Germans, or assume the rôle of belligerents towards Germany in behalf of one of the two claimants to the throne. Thus far Germany has given us absolutely no cause for war. The flag which was burned in Samoa was not hoisted in assertion of American rights. There is no analogy between the cases of Samoa and Hayti."

This statement of the case is so exactly in accord with the facts that we must regard it as authentic.

We cannot recommend to any person of leisure more amusing reading than the "documents relating to the condition of affairs in Samoa" lately submitted to Congress, if he will only read them in connection with the Samoan articles in our morning contemporaries. Taken together, nobody could do justice to them in a summary but Gilbert and Sullivan or Offenbach. The condition of affairs in Samoa, as a basis for the warlike utterances of our bellicose contemporaries, is very good bouffe. We have no rights by treaty, by law, or by morals in Samoa which are not possessed by Holland, Belgium, or Italy. Our mercantile business there is a mere trifle. The islands are 5,000 miles away from our nearest port. The rows that go on between our Consul and the German Consul, and between our handful of American speculators and the natives, are equalled in importance every day among the ladies of a score of boarding-houses and hotels in this city. Our sole conventional right there is to keep a coaling-station, but this right we have not used. We have no coal there, and should probably rarely burn it if we had.

One letter in the correspondence throws much light on the trouble. An American named Moors had a lease of a lot from a native gentleman named Seumanatafa, whose title was disputed by the German Consul, and the lease thus impugned. The German invited him to take the case into a land court the German Government was setting up, but Moors declined, and said he would sooner defend his lease "rifle in hand"; and as a substitute for this he remarks plaintively:

> "My interests in Samoa are not small and are increasing (I believe that the next assessment of property will show that I alone will then be paying one-half of all rates paid by United States citizens in Samoa). My trade with San Francisco would have doubled itself this year if the late troubles had not occurred. Could not the United States annex Samoa, Tamasese and all, and so impress upon German diplomats that they cannot play fast and loose with a country so great as ours? We surely need a coaling-station in the south Pacific. No other place remains but Samoa. Why should we not have it?"

Moors is evidently not a humorist. He seriously wants us to save his lease by cowing the European despots, and annexing a group of islands in another hemisphere; but he is sly, so he pretends that it is not on account of the lease he asks it, but because he feels deeply his country's need of a "coaling-station." If it be true, as it seems to be, that James G. Blaine is to go into the Cabinet, there will be plenty of fun got out of this Samoan affair yet. "J. G. B.'s" despatches on it will be to the German diplomats like the rumble of distant but fast approaching thunder, and we may be sure a stock company of some kind will grow out of them.

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Secretary Fairchild has made to the *Times* what that journal calls an "explicit statement" about the removals at the Custom-house, but we are sorry to say that, although it may be explicit, it is not explanatory. He does not explain that the difference between the Boston and New York sugar rulings was due to a defect in the Boston polariscope discovered and reported on by a Committee of the Academy of Sciences, which report has been in possession of the Department since January, 1888. When he admits that "nearly or quite all of the removals in the sugar division were names mentioned in the report prepared by Mr. Byrne of Boston," he fails to tell how he ever came to attach any importance to a report by "Mr. Byrne of Boston" on any subject. Nor when he says that he has not "received a single protest" from sugar importers since the Boston polarization was introduced here, does he explain how he has failed to receive them, seeing that over fifty, to our knowledge, have been sent in and passed upon. Nor when he says that Byrne's report is before the Senate, and "is full of startling facts and glaring developments," does he explain that the evidence or exhibits on which Byrne based his report are not before the Senate, and that the "startling facts and glaring developments" are simply Byrne's stories, which no one who knows Byrne would allow to affect a negotiation for a peanut-stand.

On the strength of a report made by this paltry and ignorant adventurer, to whom it would have been scandalous to give an inspectorship on a steamboat wharf, the Secretary has admitted the existence in the Appraiser's Department, during nearly the whole of President Cleveland's term, of enormous frauds on the Government, and has dismissed, without charges, without a hearing and without notice, a considerable number of experienced, and, as is generally believed, faithful officers. To do this a year or two years ago, even on the strength of Byrne's testimony, would have been bad enough; but there would then have been time left to Mr. Fairchild to improve the service, if improvement was needed, by instituting reforms the carrying out of which he could have superintended. In failing to act on Byrne's stories until only six weeks of the present Administration were left, until reform by this Administration was impossible, until only confusion and discredit could be the result of change, he leaves us face to face with a great puzzle. The only explanation of the affair we have heard attempted is, that he wants "to spite the Mugwumps." This solution will not be acceptable to those who believe a Secretary of the Treasury must not only be fairly wise and just and prudent, but of mature age. It is only children who commit egregious follies in order to vex somebody.

For an Administration which has laid claim all along, in spite of many backslidings and shortcomings, to the character of a reformer, to go out of office on top of a piece of folly and cruelty like this, is, from the lowest point of view, a remarkable display of political stupidity. If Byrne had furnished Assistant Secretary Maynard, the patronage man of the Treasury Department, with materials for sweeping changes in the Custom-house two or three years ago, they might have been used to curry favor with the spoils element in the Democratic party, because they would have furnished places to some of the waiting "boys," and have filled the breasts of a great many more with hope. But changes made now are, from the party standpoint, absolutely useless. They do nothing for the "party," and in fact are likely to excite the derision of the more experienced managers, who have jeered at President Cleveland from the beginning, and would not trust or reward Secretary Fairchild no matter what he did for them. We must only hope that President Harrison will, when he comes into office, promptly undo this farce as far as it can be undone, restore to their places all those Republican officers whom nobody but Byrne accuses, and have charges made by reputable persons investigated openly by a proper tribunal. We say "openly," because there is no more reason why a Custom-house officer should be tried for his place secretly than tried for his life secretly. In fact, the public interest demands public investigation in all such cases, both as an act of justice to Government employees, and as a guarantee that charges have not been trumped up in order to make vacancies for political reasons.

Since the bad character of the Senate Tariff Bill, with its increased duties on wool and tin plates, its sugar bounties and other monstrosities, became known, it has been very plain that an extra session of Congress would be necessary. Of course the House would not pass such a bill, or send it to a conference committee to be juggled with in secret. To consider it in committee and then in the House, section by section, in the five or six remaining weeks of the session is simply impossible. Therefore an extra session is not a matter of choice, but of necessity, unless the new Administration should elect to run the risk of a financial crisis. The suggestion has been made that by anticipating the payment of interest on the 4½ per cent. bonds, the principal of which falls due in September, 1891, the Treasury surplus might be shouldered along till the next regular session of Congress. But this would be a very doubtful expedient, since the surplus is a continuing and increasing evil. Getting rid of it to-day by anticipating payments only increases the evil to-morrow, and invites censure upon those who have the power to avert it altogether.

The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* is so much troubled about the Senate Tariff Bill, and especially the duties on tin plate and fresh fish, and the bounty on sugar, that it hopes the House will find a way to kill the whole thing and remit the subject to the incoming Congress. Regarding the increased duty on tin-plate, it says that this "would foster a practical monopoly, while laying a heavy tax on the multitudinous home industries to which tin plates are indispensable." It thinks that this extreme position would not have been taken by the Senate but for the extreme positions taken in the Mills bill. The positions taken in the Mills bill, being on the whole less radical than those recommended by the chiefs of protectionism who constituted the Tariff Commission of 1883, can hardly be called extreme. It is much more probable that the provoking cause of the outrageous bill passed by the Senate was something in the shape of the pillars of Hercules with a scroll binding them together thus: $. Mr. Quay and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Wanamaker could tell us the significance of this emblem in the present posture of political affairs.

Nothing is droller or more symptomatic in the present situation than the joy which some of the Republican papers are expressing over the discovery that we were wrong in saying that Wanamaker and Quay had burned their campaign accounts (Quay has not yet denied that his are burned). These journalists evidently think that if it can be shown that the accounts exist, Wanamaker and Quay's innocence is established; the fact being that, in the forum of morals, proof that the accounts could be produced aggravates the difficulties of their position. This reminds us very much of the pickpocket brought up recently in a London police court who protested loudly against being committed for trial, because the prosecutor swore he saw him throw the watch away, while a policeman testified that he found it in his boot. On this subject that amusing old moralist the editor of the *Independent* is peculiarly diverting.

Advices from the New Jersey and Indiana Legislatures indicate that the ballot-reform bills now under consideration there are likely to become laws within a comparatively short time. As the Legislatures in both States are Democratic, their action may have some effect in showing Gov. Hill how the popular mind is behaving. Hopeful reports come also about the chances of the bill which is before the Maine Legislature. A public hearing is to be held by the Committee in charge of it this week, and among the advocates who will appear are several clergymen. It is interesting to notice that Congressman Boutelle's Blaine organ, the Bangor *Whig*, which is leading the opposition to the bill, and alleging that there is no popular demand for it, is forced to devote more or less space daily to labored explanations and apologies for its position. If there were no popular interest in the measure, this daily task would not be necessary.

Ohio is the latest State to join the ballot-reform procession, which now includes nearly every State in the Union. A bill has been presented in the Senate of the Ohio Legislature which is substantially the Massachusetts law with a few changes to make it conform to the Ohio statutes. It contains

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the Massachusetts provision for marking the backs of the official ballots—that is, with is a printed facsimile of the signature of the State or county officer whose duty it is to have the ballots printed. The prospects for the passage of the law appear to be good. The fact is, that public sentiment has been educated somewhat on the subject of electoral reform by the admirable working of a law which was enacted four years ago, applying to all cities in the State having 90,000 inhabitants and upwards, and providing that there should be no electioneering of any kind within 100 feet of the polls. It made it unlawful for persons to congregate or loiter within that distance, and forbade any person within it to hand a voter a ticket, or to solicit his vote, or to try in any way to influence him, and also forbade the voter to unfold his ballot or in any way reveal its contents. This simple statute has done wonders in securing honest and quiet elections, and the natural consequence is that the people of the State are now in a condition of mind to welcome further reform in the same direction.

The hearing before the Assembly Prisons' Committee on Thursday brought out some direct evidence from the prison authorities which ought to make the members of the Legislature sufficiently ashamed of themselves to take prompt action on the question of convict labor. One prison inspector said: "I say to you, gentlemen of the committee, that if you pass through the corridors of the prisons, you will hear five out of every six of these unfortunate men say: 'Give us something to do!'" Another prison official said: "If there is to be any reformatory influence exerted upon convicts, they must be worked honestly, and not made to feel that they are degraded." All the testimony agreed that the demoralization which the present lack of labor is causing is little less than appalling. On the question of competing with free labor, the testimony was especially interesting. One superintendent said that the opposition of the labor agitators was preposterous, because fully 85 per cent. of the goods which had previously been manufactured in the prisons had been sold outside the State. When it is remembered that the total percentage of the product of convict as compared with free labor is only a fraction of 1 per cent., this statement—that nearly all the convict goods are sold outside the State—ought to bring the legislators to their senses.

Each new report of the Superintendent of Education in a Southern State furnishes fresh proof that those States need no appropriations from Washington to enable them to build up a good school system. West Virginia has been among the foremost in developing that "local supervision and interest" which General Harrison years ago well said is the only thing that "will bring these constituencies that are now so backward in the race of education abreast with other States." The expenditures are rising steadily and rapidly, advancing from $1,087,674 in 1887 to $1,240,649 in 1888; and the number of schools and pupils grows with almost equal pace, the percentage enrolled in the schools to the whole number of children being now 70 per cent., which is almost precisely the same as in Maine. The length of the school-year was increased one week each year, and is now almost identical with the limit in Maine. Experience has thus fully vindicated the Republican Senators from Maine and the Democratic Senators from West Virginia in their attitude of combined opposition to the "Bill to Promote Mendicancy."

The city of Providence, under a prohibitory law, has 529 places in which liquor is openly sold. This is the total given by the Providence *Journal* in its summary published with the last of the diagrams which it has been giving, showing by police precincts each place where sales are made. It says that this number does not include drug-stores, some of which have a private drinking-place for customers, and a considerable number of other places in which liquor is suspected, but not positively known, to be sold. We believe there is nothing in Maine quite so glaring as this, although it is notorious that, in spite of the prohibitory law there, liquor is sold, with little or no attempt at concealment, in every city in the State. The defiance of law in Providence, and in many other parts of Rhode Island, is more open, probably, than it is anywhere else in the country, and a curious thing about it is that there appears to be no strong public sentiment against its continuance. Of course, under these circumstances, it practically comes to this, that the State is under a system of free rum-selling, with no income from the traffic.

It is discouraging to find two such eminent doctors of journalism as Mr. Charles A. Dana and Mr. Murat Halstead disagreeing on a question of ethics. Mr. Dana was chosen last year as the guest and orator of the Wisconsin Press Association at their annual meeting held at Milwaukee. His discourse gave general satisfaction, and was especially commended by the New York *Herald*, which was so charmed by some parts of it that they have been kept standing in its columns ever since. One of Mr. Dana's maxims was: "Never print a paid advertisement as news matter; let every advertisement appear as an advertisement; no sailing under false colors." It has been hinted repeatedly by the *Herald* that the newspaper under Mr. Dana's control has printed paid advertisements as news matter frequently since the Milwaukee maxim was promulgated. A correspondent usually well informed wrote to us some time ago, saying that the reprinting in Mr. Dana's paper of a very long article from a quarterly review, defending Trusts, was paid for by the Standard Oil Company; but we dismissed the suggestion as an idle tale. Whether Mr. Dana has followed his own maxims or not, the maxim is good in itself, and therefore we are much concerned to find Mr. Halstead taking the other side of the question in his discourse to the Wisconsin editors at Madison a few days ago.

Mr. Halstead takes issue with Mr. Dana squarely. He announces at the outset that he has tried it both ways, and is thus able to speak from experience. Perhaps he means to insinuate that Dana has only tried it one way, but which way he does not indicate. "Once upon a time," says Mr. Halstead, "I sacrificed many dollars in an endeavor to establish that great principle, and have receded from it, yielding to the material manifestation of general judgment." The "material manifestation of general judgment" is a phrase not free from ambiguity, but in its context it seems to mean cash. This interpretation is justified by a subsequent sentence, in which Mr. Halstead says that he has been constrained to associate "the advancement of great principles with pecuniary profit." (Billy McGlory has felt constrained to associate the great principle of personal liberty with pecuniary profit by selling liquor without a license, but the Mayor says he shall not allow him to do so any more.) One would suppose that this might end the matter altogether, and that further reasons for rejecting Mr. Dana's maxim would be superfluous, because, when you know that your principles are great and that they cannot make head without pecuniary profit, any form of deception must be allowable, especially if your readers are easily humbugged. "A large percentage of the people think the editor writes the advertisements," continues Mr. Halstead. "What is the objection if some of them should find out that the advertiser occasionally dictates the editorials?" No objection indeed to that; the objection is when they don't find it out. If Mr. Halstead would only begin one of this kind of editorials by saying, "The following is dictated by the Boston Clothing House," or by the Mutual Reserve Fund, or by the Standard Oil Trust, as the case may be, no harm would result, even to those simple persons who think that the editor writes all the advertisements. We shall not follow Mr. Halstead through his abundant list of reasons for differing from Mr. Dana, whom he grossly accuses of "biting off more than he can chew without facial distortion;" but we must notice one more observation which, we have no doubt, met a sympathizing response from the Wisconsin editors, viz.:

> "If one may be permitted to speak of local experience, the question of never printing a paid advertisement as news matter has not been so important as the printing of advertisements that are not paid. The notable feature of journalism for fifteen years under my immediate observation has been the printing of free advertisements."

Who knows but that the exaction of payment for these free advertisements, properly marked as such, would have supplied the pecuniary profit needful to enable Mr. Halstead to promote his great principles? Speaking from local experience, we have never found any occult influence or overpowering hand of fate moving us, against our will, to print advertisements without getting paid for them. But we suppose it is different in Cincinnati.

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THE SAMOAN AFFAIR.

THE public have had great difficulty in understanding the Samoan dispute, and even now the subject is far from being clear. The statement of the *North German Gazette*—that there is no treaty between the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, guaranteeing the neutrality of Samoa, or precluding any European Power from acquiring ascendancy there—takes most of us by surprise, because the contrary opinion had been sedulously promulgated from Washington, not by or through the State Department, but by a coterie opposed to Mr. Bayard, headed by Senator Frye and Consul Sewall. It turns out that the *North German Gazette* is right. There is no treaty, protocol, or other engagement between the United States and either of the other countries, which forbids either of them to occupy the islands to-morrow. There is a treaty between England and Germany which is said to preclude Germany from taking such a step; but, of course, we have nothing to do with that, and it does not comport with our dignity to solicit England to enforce her treaty rights against Germany in our interest.

The "secret protocol" which Mr. Bayard is chided for not sending to the Senate with the other papers relating to Samoan affairs turns out to be no protocol at all, but a daily record of the proceedings of a conference with the German and English representatives, which neither party was at liberty to make public without the consent of both the others, and which the English and German Governments declined to permit Mr. Bayard to make public. There is one fact in the history of the negotiations which may perhaps be made public now without detriment to anybody on this side of the Atlantic. Very soon after Mr. Cleveland's Administration was seated, a German citizen of rank from Berlin, but holding no diplomatic position, called on Mr. Bayard, and put the question to him, in the name of Prince Bismarck, whether the United States would object to Germany's assuming the exclusive control of the Samoan Islands. The question was put bluntly, but with the utmost deference and friendliness. Mr. Bayard, having become satisfied that the questioner was really what he assumed to be, namely, an unofficial representative of Prince Bismarck, replied that the United States could not consent to any such separate control of the islands on the part of Germany. Thereupon the interview ended in the same friendly spirit in which it began, Mr. Bayard's interlocutor returning immediately to Berlin, and the impression was left that no step would be taken by Germany inconsistent with the amicable relations that had previously existed with this country. It is evident now that Bismarck had formed the design of getting possession of the islands, and that he wanted, if possible, to get an unofficial assurance from our Government that his movements would not be impeded. Failing in this, he did not desist from his purpose, but set about it in another way. As there is no written record of what occurred at the interview above mentioned, it is comparatively easy for so skilful a practitioner of "journalism" as Bismarck to interpret it in any way he pleases, or to ignore it altogether.

The scales having fallen from our eyes in this particular, we are next told that we have a treaty with Samoa, dated in 1877, which gave us the right to establish a coaling-station at Pago-Pago. This treaty was to remain in force ten years, and until notice of termination was given by one or other of the contracting parties. The ten years have expired, and we have not established the coaling-station, nor taken any steps to that end, obviously for the reason that we did not need any coaling-station there. We have no steam-vessels passing that way. If we had established the coaling-station, we could have done nothing with it except to sell coal to other people. The Government wisely kept out of that speculation. The sudden zeal of Senator Sherman to establish this coaling-station before the Samoan Government (whatever that may be) gives notice of termination of the treaty, becomes a trifle ridiculous, while the proposed appropriation of $500,000, to secure our Samoan rights in general, requires explanation, to say the least.

But, it is further urged, this treaty with Samoa, if not already terminated, pledges us to use our "good offices" to adjust any difficulty arising between Samoa and any foreign Government. This pledge was in direct contravention of our national policy, enjoined by Washington's Farewell Address, to avoid entanglements with European Powers. But, overlooking that feature of the case, there is nothing disclosed by the Samoan papers, or even by Senator Frye's speeches or Consul Sewall's interviews, which prevents us from tendering our good offices in the emergency provided for. If our good offices fail, we shall have earned the blessing of the peace-makers promised in the Sermon on the Mount, and that will be no light satisfaction.

If we have no treaty with Germany respecting Samoa, if we have no treaty rights at all in that quarter except the right to establish a coaling-station, which nothing has prevented us from establishing except our own disinclination, and the right to tender our good offices, which it would seem that we might tender even without a treaty, what is it that has raised this awful pother o'er our heads? The following paragraph, taken from an interview with an eminent New England Senator, seems to be the answer to this natural question:

> "The Samoan Islands are on the highway of commerce across the Pacific Ocean, and are of great importance with relation to the development of the trade via the projected canals across the Isthmus of Panama and across Nicaragua. To a Power whose ships are sent on long cruises, the establishment of coaling-stations is a necessity, and the location of one on the central island of the Samoan group, as provided for in the proposed amendment to the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, is looked upon as one of great importance to us."

We do not see that the right to establish a coaling-station has been or is likely to be interrupted by anything except our own supineness. As for commerce with Australia, the only commerce that anybody thinks of in connection with Samoa, we have been doing our best to cripple and curtail it for years by hostile tariffs. It was only a few days ago that the Senate put a new obstruction in the way of such commerce by adding two cents a pound to the duty on wool. To talk about the needs of Australian commerce, and about facilities for promoting it under such circumstances, is laughable in a high degree.

The Cologne *Gazette* makes the singular mistake of attributing all the pother at Washington to the Cleveland Administration. The truth is, that the Samoan party at Washington is the same which made all the difficulty with Great Britain respecting the Fisheries Treaty. Its object is to show that Mr. Bayard is not sufficiently alive to the country's honor, that he is in the habit of truckling to foreign Powers and hauling down the American flag, and all that. It is the Harrison party in the Senate, and not the Cleveland party, that is running this wild-goose chase respecting a group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean more distant from our shores than Berlin itself, and where we have no interests to speak of. The more the matter is looked into, the more plainly does it seem, on our part, an outbreak of sheer Jingoism and meddlesomeness in other people's affairs. Our Jingo contemporary, the *Tribune*, is fain to admit that there is no treaty between the United States and Germany respecting Samoan independence and neutrality, but insists that the "obligations" which Germany has assumed in respect thereto "are defined with authority in the correspondence which has passed between Berlin and Washington." This means that, although the negotiators never came to an agreement which could bind anybody, they laid down certain principles which would be the basis of an agreement if they should eventually make one.

Now, what are "obligations"? In plain language we say that an obligation *obliges* an individual or a nation to do or refrain from doing some particular thing. Supposing that Germany, in spite of this alleged obligation, lands a military force at Samoa, and actually takes possession of the islands. This is the worst that she could do, and we therefore make this a test case. The question is, What would we do about it? Would we fight Germany? If so, upon what ground? Not upon that of an infraction of treaty, because there is no treaty. Shall we fight her because she has changed her mind? The right to change one's mind before making a bargain is among the reserved rights of nations, up to this time. Moreover, it is easy for Germany to say that a change of events has caused her to change her mind. She is not "obliged," however, to explain what has led her to change her mind, to anybody to whom she is under no treaty obligation. Suppose, in the case named, we reply that we had a treaty with Samoa giving us the right to establish a coaling-station at Pago-Pago, and that Germany, as the successor of the Samoan Government, is bound by that stipulation. Very likely Germany would

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agree to everything that could be urged on that point, and would tell us to go on and establish our coaling-station at Pago-Pago. Then we might urge that we had the right under this treaty to tender our "good offices." It would be very churlish in Germany to refuse us that privilege. She would open a wide door to our good offices and *pourparler* over them to any extent, and in the end accept them or not, as she pleased. What next? Would we go to war or not? This is the test that we apply to the "obligations" assumed by Germany in the premises, and we wish that some Jingo Senator or editor would tell what he thinks about it.

BOULANGER I.

THE triumph of Boulanger in the Department of the Seine, by a majority of 54,432 in a total vote of 433,708, is more complete than was generally expected. Neither his friends nor his enemies expected so large a majority. That he owes his victory to the Monarchists of various shades there is but little doubt. They have supported him *en masse*, both Bonapartists and Legitimists. The other malcontents, the people who are disgusted with the working of the parliamentary system, or with the heavy taxation, or with the attacks of the Republic on the Church, or with the dulness of trade in Paris, could not have dealt such a blow to the existing régime without the aid of the Conservatives. The order was given to the Monarchists by the Comte de Paris; and the Bonapartists—who, Paul de Cassagnac now says, are Bonapartists no longer, but anything that will overturn the Republic—fell in with the plan.

They do not attempt to conceal the fact that their designs are purely destructive. They would not have voted for Boulanger if they had believed it would result in any sort of reform. For the man himself, both personally and politically, they have the utmost contempt. He was noted when in the army for his untrustworthiness and charlatanry, and the exposure of his falsehood and ingratitude when Minister of War in denying the letter which he wrote to the Duc d'Aumale, thanking him for his promotion, made all respectable Frenchmen blush to think that such a man should be in such a place. His performances since then as a political agitator have only confirmed the earlier impression. He has produced no programme, and made no promises, beyond denying that he aimed at a dictatorship. He has risen to fame and power literally as "a pig in a poke." He has made no speeches worthy of note in the Chambers. He has simply rung changes on the faults of the Republicans, and expressed himself favorable to nearly everything—such as the Government support of the Panama Canal—which the Republicans refused.

The situation now is made humorous or horrible, according to the point of view from which one looks at it, by the fact that nobody knows or pretends to know what the result of the election will be. It is almost certain that Boulanger does not know himself. The direct effect on the strength of the Ministry in the Chamber is simply the loss of one vote. It is said that Boulanger will not sit for the Seine, but choose to remain where he is as a member for the Nord, which will necessitate another election in Paris. The political value of the election lies solely in the fact that through it Paris, by a large majority, condemns the Republic as now administered. The importance of this condemnation will largely depend on the way in which the Ministers take it. The policy of the Republicans, ever since the Commune, has been to lessen in every way the political ascendancy of Paris, and thus put an end to its power of making revolutions and setting up new governments. Both Thiers and Gambetta and all their successors have striven with all their might, through schools, public buildings, roads, canals, and harbor improvements, to win the provinces over to the Republic, and give the peasantry a sense of political power, and deliver them from their slavish subjection to the mob of the capital. That their efforts have been measurably successful there is no doubt. There is a more active political life, and a keener interest in public affairs, and a deeper sense of political power now to be found in the country districts than ever before in French history. But should the Floquet Ministry now accept the Boulanger election as the verdict of the country, before which they are bound to resign, of course all this gain would be lost. The domination of Paris over the provinces would be restored, and the Radicals of the streets would feel that the Government of France was once more in their hands. Much the same thing may be said of any recognition of the election as a serious reproof or direction. If President Carnot or Floquet in any way bows before it as a final popular deliverance, by pushing forward a project of revision or hastening a dissolution, Boulanger will at once become master of the situation to rule or ruin.

If he should be allowed to have his way, say, by giving him first his "dissolution," and then his Constituent Assembly, nobody can tell whether the Constituent Assembly, which would be charged with the revision of the Constitution, would suit him. French deliberative bodies are very uncertain. The next Assembly might quarrel with Boulanger just as badly as this one has done. He might have to resign his seat in it in disgust, as he has had to do in the present one, and begin his plébiscite over again. Or, should the revision suit him by the abolition of Senate and Presidency, and France be committed, for the second time in her history, to a single Assembly, elected under the patronage of a military adventurer, nobody would be able to see ahead for six months. Such an Assembly would be certain to be under the domination of its most reckless and impulsive elements, eager for experimentation in every direction, and indifferent to vested rights to a degree that would almost certainly produce an overwhelming demand for a dictatorship within a year or two. That Boulanger would furnish the dictator is not at all certain. The army would have its say about that, and what hold he has on the army nobody knows. He is said to have won the affection of the privates, but the privates are a rapidly changing body, and their affections are at best transitory and fickle. The officers, especially in the higher grades, who for political purposes really constitute the military force, are said to be generally hostile to him as a "rhéteur" and humbug, and it is not at all impossible that, if such a crisis were ever reached, the Duc d'Aumale, if he were not too old—he is now sixty-seven—might reap the harvest for his nephew which the Boulangists had sown.

THE INTER-STATE RAILWAY AGREEMENT.

THE agreement which forms the basis of the Inter-State Commerce Railway Association can be understood only in the light of the discussions to which it was subjected. The proceedings of the conference of January 8 and 10, as well as some of the papers which have since been made public, indicate some divergence of opinion among the members. In one sense, this is not a bad sign. The very earnestness of the discussion shows that the representatives of the different railroads regard the agreement as a serious and binding one, and not a mere dead letter, to be entered into lightly and as lightly broken.

One fact which was brought out by the discussions was the importance of the provisions respecting competitive traffic. This is in one sense the central point in the whole matter. As finally adopted, it reads: "The Executive Board shall from time to time, on the application in writing of an accredited representative of any company the president of which is a member of this Association, take such steps for a full hearing of all parties in interest as may be proper, requisite, and legal, to secure to each company its due measure of the competitive traffic." The object of this is clear enough. It is hoped that the good results of a pool can be accomplished without direct violation of the law. We cannot do better than to quote what Mr. Depew said on the subject—for, though the trunk lines were not direct parties to the agreement, it is obvious that his words reflected the general sense of the meeting: "The strength of this present organization seems to me to be, that, in that conference of the Committee with the Inter-State Commerce Commission, you have a committal on their part to the approval of the only scheme to get the railroads together to make the agreement upon rates and adopt the rules for their enforcement. You have also in the clause which they have amended a *quasi*-commendation of some scheme which they will assist in promoting, and afterwards interpret the law in favor of concessions to the differential lines—the means by which they can be protected, and by which their owners and managers will not, for the purpose of getting business, break the agreement; so that, while we avoid the pool so called, we do evidently, under the sanction of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and without any amendment to the Inter-State Commerce Law in general, secure some

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machinery by which peace can be maintained."

We just now said that this was the very centre of the whole matter. We believe it to be so, because a company which lost business while faithfully observing the agreement, if it suspected other companies of violating it, would at once withdraw. As stated by Mr. Adams, "The idea would be, the company would go before a board of managers, and say: 'We are good faithful citizens, obeying the law. Our business is gone'"—and would have some remedy. In the absence of such a resort, we do not believe that the agreement could be maintained. The penalties provided by the Inter-State Commerce Act have, in actual practice, proved insufficient to prevent rate-cutting. Under certain circumstances, the road that obeys the law the best loses the most. The presidents' agreement provides for an organized effort to detect violations; but it is not probable that what the law has conspicuously failed to accomplish can at once be carried out by an agreement of this kind. If time is given, the irregularities can be detected and probably stopped, at least in their worst forms; but if time is not given, it is unlikely that a railroad president will passively sacrifice the interests of his own road by obeying the law, while knowing, even though he cannot prove it, that he is suffering through others' disobedience. If the Commission can so interpret the law as to allow these necessary measures of self-protection by division of traffic, well and good; if they cannot, we fear that the agreement will be worth little more than other agreements which have gone before it.

So much for the means of maintaining the organization. With regard to the system of rates itself, we find two conflicting views. One party, including a decided majority of those present, wish to leave matters with as little interference as possible, calling in the aid of arbitration only where an actual conflict between actual interests threatens to produce war. On the other hand, Mr. Stickney of the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City, both in the conferences and subsequently to them, thought it necessary to go much further. In an open letter, dated January 11, the day after the second conference, he says: "It is self-evident that before reasonable, uniform, and remunerative rates can be maintained, such rates must be ascertained and established. To ascertain such rates and then put them into effect is the first step. The public mind assumes that such rates have been ascertained, that they are fully agreed to and understood, and that nothing is easier than to put them into effect and maintain them; that it is merely an act of volition; that the presidents have only to order it in good faith, and it is accomplished. This is the theory of the contract of January 1, and to a large extent of the plan adopted yesterday. In my judgment, this is a superficial view."

He goes on to say that any agreement, to be more than a mere makeshift, must fix a basis of rates. He would first agree upon a full and complete classification. On questions which must arise in making such a classification, he would provide in advance for a board of arbitrators. He would have the meetings as public and open as possible, giving the fullest hearings to outside parties interested, and seeking advice and suggestions from State and Inter-State Commerce Commissioners. Having thus arranged his classification, he would adopt some one class as the standard, agree upon the percentage above or below the standard rate that the other classes should bear, and systematize the whole schedule upon this basis.

Efforts of this kind have not been by any means unknown in the history of the country. The Southern Association has done much in this direction, and the results have been at least fairly good. But the difficulties of such a project are greater to-day than they were before, on account of the opposition of certain sections of the Inter-State Commerce Law. We do not believe that Mr. Stickney does full justice to these difficulties, nor do we believe that, under the most favorable circumstances, the matter could be carried as far as he seems inclined to go. The cost to a railroad of doing any given sort of traffic depends largely upon the volume of such traffic which can be obtained. This can often only be determined by experiment. Any arbitrary mathematical standard, if placed high enough to be generally remunerative, would have a tendency to prevent such experiments. It would thus hinder reductions in rates, and stand in the way of increased efficiency in railroad service.

But from another point of view Mr. Stickney's position is much stronger. For arbitration to establish itself as a system, there must be some permanent principles developed and applied. They need not necessarily take the shape of mathematical formulas, but they must be capable of general and impartial application. In default of any such principles, railroad arbitrators have an enormous amount of work, with little prospect of lasting success. The result often is something like that of arbitration in labor disputes, where A is given about half what he wants and B the other half. If either party changes his mind a month later, the whole matter has to be arbitrated over again. The advantage of a systematic basis of rates, such as is proposed by Mr. Stickney, is that it gives a principle on which to base decisions. It takes away the chance for constant renewal of petty quarrels which can only be settled by averaging the claims of the contending parties, and where, in consequence, each party is disposed to claim as much as possible. While it is an advantage to recognize arbitration instead of fighting as a means of settling difficulties, arbitration without a principle often involves quite as much harm as good. There are two logical alternatives: either the old system of independent action, regulated by the self-interest of the contending parties, which has proved on the whole so unsatisfactory, or a system of legalized relations, where the general interests of the different parties are to be considered in laying down certain general principles, but where individual disputes are to be settled by an application of these principles rather than by an unorganized balancing of contending claims. It is a step in advance when our railroads abandon the first: it will be a more difficult, but at the same time far more important, step when they learn to accomplish the second.

EVEN BIBLES CANNOT ESCAPE.

Our readers will remember that the Mills bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, added to the free list "Bibles, books, and pamphlets printed in other languages than English, and books and pamphlets, and all publications of foreign Governments, and publications of foreign societies, historical or scientific, printed for gratuitous distribution." In the Senate substitute for the Mills bill (Sec. 12, clause 482, p. 164), this paragraph is modified to read: "Books and pamphlets printed exclusively in languages other than English." This is by no means a mere condensation of language, but is in effect a material curtailment of the saving which would have resulted to scholars and students under the operation of the clause in the Mills bill which would have permitted the free importation of all books and pamphlets printed for gratuitous distribution, as well as all publications of whatsoever kind by foreign Governments, or by foreign historical or scientific societies, if distributed gratuitously, without regard (in any of these cases) to the language used. Moreover, the insertion of the word "exclusively" in the Senate bill cuts off from free importation two kinds of publications indispensable to students, namely, lexicons and editions of texts, the latter usually containing the original text together with an English version. The production in the United States of books in these two classes is insignificant, so that the duty can scarcely be imposed for any one's "protection;" and it can hardly be that this heavy tax is proposed to be laid upon these implements of knowledge for the mere sake of revenue, in an act purporting to "reduce taxation" upon the ground that there is already a surplus revenue; nor can these books very well be classed as "luxuries" in order to justify the tariff demand, for every man of intelligence knows that to the student they are necessities. It is to be hoped that we have not yet reached the point where our Government would discourage, upon the ground of luxury, the importation of any means of education. But truly it is difficult to imagine any decent excuse for subjecting every poor citizen who thirsts after knowledge to such burdensome taxes, which are the more irksome because it is admitted upon all sides that the money thus extracted from men who are, as a class, not wealthy, is not needed to defray the reasonable expenses of the Government. No other civilized nation, be it ever so strong a believer in the theory of "protection," treats its students in this way.

It is sadly discouraging to note that this important question of free knowledge was not even deemed worthy of discussion upon the floor of the Senate. Paragraph 482 of the bill was reached and read on Thursday

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the 10th instant, and was passed by without a word of remark. On the previous day, Wednesday, the 9th, paragraph 379, imposing an ad-valorem duty of 25 per cent. upon "books, including blank-books of all kinds, pamphlets and engravings, bound or unbound photographs, etchings, maps, charts, and all printed matter not specially enumerated or provided for in this act," was read without a comment. But later in the day Senator Vance moved to insert at the end of this paragraph the words, "Provided, that Bibles printed in any language shall be admitted free of duty," which amendment was voted down by 22 nays to 18 yeas. The few remarks made upon this proposed amendment afford no reasonable explanation of the negative vote. Senator Vance pointed out that Americans who speak a foreign tongue would be allowed, under paragraph 482, to import Bibles free, while native-born citizens would be obliged to pay a heavy tax upon theirs. And while a donation from the London Bible Society would not be taxed, provided the Bibles sent were in other languages than the English, if printed in our mother-tongue their acceptance would impose a payment of duty. The only reply to these arguments was a statement that the work of the American Bible Society practically made Bibles "not only free of duty, but free of cost." But if this statement has any value as an argument, it applies with equal force to the Bibles printed by the same Society in foreign languages. Then why remit the duty on one class of Bibles and retain it on the other? Moreover, if this Society furnishes Bibles "gratuitously" (more strictly, we suppose, it should be "at cost"), it certainly has no need for tariff protection. For what reason, then, is this tax of 25 per cent. to be levied upon English Bibles?

If any one will take the trouble to examine the first page of the catalogue of the American Bible Society, he will find printed thereon: "This Society can supply *only* the Holy Scriptures without note or comment." If, therefore, a Bible student wishes to possess a copy of the sacred text made more useful and valuable by reason of learned annotation and the addition of other explanatory matter, it is clear that he must go elsewhere for it than to that Society; and if he ventures to attempt to satisfy this not unreasonable desire by importing a foreign edition, he is promptly taxed a quarter of its value—that is to say, if he happens to be a native-born citizen who desires his Bible in the English language. If he is a naturalized foreigner, or an alien residing here, our Government exempts him from the payment of such tax upon Bibles printed in his native tongue.

The negative vote recorded above, if the Senate act becomes law, will seriously burden a large class in this country who may certainly claim some consideration at the hands of the Senators who defeated Mr. Vance's amendment. In order to satisfy an easily recognized want, the great Bible publishers of England have issued editions of the Scriptures which have become widely known and justly celebrated under the designation "Teachers'" Bibles. These contain, besides the text, supplied with every possible convenience and help in the way of annotations and references, a great fund of compact information, prepared under the supervision of men of high authority in Biblical learning, and intended to answer all the needs, more especially, of Sunday-school teachers. So varied and valuable is this added matter that one clergyman speaks of it as containing the "essence of fifty expensive volumes by men of sacred learning." These Bibles are not cheap. It is impossible that they should be, for no expense has been spared in perfecting their mechanical production. They are perhaps unrivalled as examples of books most perfectly adapted to their purpose, combining compactness, legibility, portability, and durability, together with beauty of finish, in a very unusual degree. Bishop Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church says of one of these Bibles, "It is one of the most perfect editions of the sacred Scriptures I have ever seen. *I wish we could place a copy in the hands of every Sunday school superintendent and teacher in America.*" Nothing at all approaching these books is produced in the United States. One can sympathize with Bishop Vincent's feeling as he reads over the names of the twenty-two Senators who voted to retain a tax of from $1 to $4 upon every copy of these Bibles brought into our country. It must strike him as a remarkable way in which to aid in the diffusion of Biblical knowledge among our people, or to encourage the intelligent study of the Bible.

Our tariff legislation in regard to books has had the lamentable effect of putting the United States at the very bottom of the list of civilized countries in respect to the encouragement given to the diffusion of knowledge. The act of 1883, however, at least possessed the grace of treating books as literature; but in the eyes of our present Senate, it apparently makes no difference whether a book consists of blank pages or contains in print the wisdom of the ages, and accordingly we find the second clause of schedule M of the above act, which provides for a duty upon blank books, incorporated into clause 379 of section 12 of the Senate bill, by which adroit "editing" the duty upon this kind of stationery, which was fixed at 20 per cent. by the law of 1883, is increased to 25 per cent. in this remarkable document entitled "An Act to *Reduce Taxation.*"

AN EXPERIMENT IN PROHIBITION.

CAMBRIDGE is chiefly known as the seat of Harvard College. It is a city, however, of great manufacturing interests, and its population of 60,000 includes a large foreign element. In 1886 there was one license for the sale of intoxicating liquor for each 181 inhabitants. The saloons sought and obtained control of the Licensing Board, and not only did earnest efforts of the best citizens to secure the imposition of a high license fee fail, but the Licensing Board announced in a case of local celebrity that the moral interests of the community did not deserve its consideration in the administration of the license system. A large part of the people, especially the professional and business men, had no belief in or sympathy with the doctrine of prohibition; but the condition of affairs was no longer to be tolerated, and in a burst of indignation, fostered by an ably edited campaign paper, the city voted at the annual election under the Local-Option Law to refuse licenses for the ensuing year. This election was held in December, 1886, and the licenses then in force did not expire until the following May.

The local branch of the Law and Order League was practically dead, and efforts to form an organization on similar principles met with opposition. There was found to be a strong feeling against any organization of citizens that undertook to do police duty, or was likely to give the civil authorities a feeling that their work was to be done for them; and, moreover, the methods necessary to the detection of offences by any such organization were repugnant to many, especially in view of a late experience with corrupt detectives. The situation was serious if neither the police nor the citizens were likely to secure an enforcement of the law.

It seemed, however, that all good citizens of whatever opinions as to the law could find a meeting-ground in an organization which should limit its action to urging the enforcement of the law and arousing public opinion to demand it by means of a printed publication. The association finally formed on these lines declared itself organized "to keep the citizens informed as to the working of the laws regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors in the city, and the efforts of the city authorities in enforcing them; to keep alive by the dissemination of accurate information a healthy public interest as to the best means of dealing with the sale of intoxicating liquors, and to support and encourage the city authorities in the enforcement of existing laws regarding such sale." This plan was regarded by extreme Prohibitionists as lacking in "ginger," and by extreme high-license men as an attempt to support an unrighteous system; but the broadest possible basis of membership for the association was sought, and about a thousand men of all classes and opinions sent in their names as members. An honored professor in the University was chosen president, and the details of the work were intrusted to a secretary under the supervision of an executive committee composed of professors, lawyers, physicians, editors, and business men.

By the time the licenses had expired, the association was fully organized, with a considerable sum of money in its treasury, and had succeeded in giving the authorities the impression that a large body of citizens demanded a fair trial for the experiment. The Mayor of the city, on his inauguration, had announced his intention to secure a thorough enforcement of the law, and later issued imperative orders to the police. Thus supported, the police began active prosecution of violators of the law, and the saloon-keepers found that they had mistaken the extent of

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their influence as conviction followed conviction. No discrimination was made, for the proprietor of the largest hotel fled from the city to avoid imprisonment, and later several students of the College were heavily fined for membership in drinking-clubs. This vigorous action practically put an end to the sale of liquor; but little liquor was sold in the saloons, and no new places had sprung up.

The results of this action began to appear at once in a decrease of disturbance in the streets and an improved condition of the poorer classes. The *Bulletin* of the association, published at intervals during the summer and fall, gave publicity to the action of the police and the courts. It secured the enforcement of certain provisions of the law that had been neglected by calling public attention to the delinquency, and it gave, so far as possible, the observable results, whether making for or against the success of the law; and all in a fair and dignified manner.

This novel method fixed public attention on the experiment. Prior to the election, a thorough investigation into the results of prohibition was instituted. The physicians, employers of labor, owners of tenement houses, and those having to do with the poor, were seen and asked for their personal observation, and the information obtained in these interviews was printed and mailed to every voter. The reports generally showed a very remarkable change in the condition of the poorer classes. Physicians noted improvement in the homes; more and better clothing for the children, and more and better food on the tables; the wives of laboring men were anxious for a continuance of "no license." Employers reported better work done in the shops, with more promptness and regularity in attendance, especially after pay-days. Landlords found greater promptness in the payment of rents, and less trouble with tenants. This mass of testimony, given in each case upon authority, went far to arouse popular interest in a continuance of the experiment. The liquor-dealers made every effort to secure a vote for license, but they found a new spirit in their opponents. The large campaign committee included enthusiastic converts to "no license." A campaign fund of two thousand dollars was easily raised, much of it from men who had hitherto voted for license. The clergymen of the city of every denomination united in public services, and held a mass meeting presided over by Dr. A. P. Peabody, and addressed by the Plummer Professor in the University and the priest of the largest Catholic church in the city. The contest brought out the largest vote ever cast, except at a Presidential election, and the city again voted against license by a decided majority, and reëlected Mayor Russell, who had so faithfully enforced the law.

After this election the saloon-keepers began to move out, and at the end of the year all but nineteen of the original saloons were either vacant or occupied by other business. "Kitchen" bar-rooms now began to appear, but it was found that the police, under the stimulus of public opinion, were able to cope with this evil. Repeated convictions were made, and it was demonstrated that liquor could not long be sold in any place without the knowledge of the police.

It must be remembered that Boston, with one liquor license to each 263 of the population, is separated from Cambridge by the Charles River, so that liquor is always obtainable by the people of Cambridge, but, nevertheless, the arrests for all causes have fallen from 1,699 in 1886 to 1,469 in 1888; the arrests for assault, a crime frequently due to liquor, have fallen from 250 in 1886 to 163 in 1888; while the arrests for drunkenness, which were 723 in 1886, and rose to 805 in the first year of prohibition, have fallen to 653 in 1888. The number of tramps lodging in the police-stations has fallen off a third. In November last, after eighteen months of prohibition, there were only 36 arrests for causes other than drunkenness, while in the same month of 1886 there were 74 such arrests.

The investigations of last fall showed still greater improvement among the poor. Coal-dealers reported sales of coal by the quarter-ton where they formerly sold by the basket. A baker in the worst section of the city reported a large increase in the sales of milk. Dealers in furniture on the instalment plan found an increase of trade and prompter payment of instalments. It is said that it is now difficult to give away second-hand garments. Employers reported continued improvement among their men. The poor, especially the Irish, showed their appreciation of prohibition by voting for it in large numbers; in one voting precinct of workingmen, a vote of 96 for no license in 1885 has risen to one of 265 in 1888. The captains of police report less than forty places under suspicion for the illegal sale of liquor, and a freedom from disturbance both in the streets and houses of the city.

THE CAR STRIKE.

THE street-car companies in this city and Brooklyn are again confronted by a problem which they will probably have to face periodically hereafter. The ostensible ground of the strike in New York is that the companies refuse to confer with certain persons entitled "The Executive Committee of Division District No. 1," with the view to "entering into an agreement" for the ensuing year. We hardly need to go over the ground, so well beaten two years ago, as to the consequences to the companies of surrendering to requests of this sort. The greatest difficulty of the labor problem in this country, in all but the highly-skilled trades, is the low character of the men who manage the unions and try to negotiate on their behalf with the employers. The difficulty is peculiarly great in dealing with the employees of street railroad companies, who are not really skilled laborers at all, or a very good class of unskilled laborers. The bulk of them are very ignorant men, and peculiarly liable to deception at the hands of the cunning adventurers who organize and take charge of their unions.

What kind of adventurers these are may be guessed from the fact that the most prominent figure in the strike of 1886 was a man who had, while janitor of an apartment building, completely stripped one of the apartments under his charge of its furniture during the owner's absence in Europe, and then fled. He was very active in pushing the Third Avenue strike until he was recognized by the police as a fugitive from justice, when he again disappeared. Magee, the Chairman of "Executive Committee Division District No. 1," who is directing the present strike, is an ex-convict who has served a term in the penitentiary for robbing the mails when a letter-carrier. About his colleagues less is known, but they cannot be men of very good repute, or they would not be his colleagues.

To enter into any agreement with a body of this kind would be a breach of trust on the part of the directors, both towards the stockholders and the public: towards the stockholders, because it would be admitting outsiders of bad character to a share in controlling the property, and towards the public, because it would be the surrender of a franchise to unauthorized and irresponsible persons. And there would be the additional and, of itself, fatal objection, that no agreement with such men would stand very long. It would be sure to be broken soon, with a view to fresh exactions on the part of fresh "Chairmen" and "Master Workmen." The managers of these organizations of unskilled labor, like the car-drivers and stablemen, and coal-heavers and 'longshoremen, are a shifting body. They get up strikes because it is through strikes that they secure their best chance of making money. The "assessments" for the support of the strikers all come into their hands. The total amount of these contributions is large. No account of them is kept or rendered by anybody, and the contributors are generally too ignorant to exact one, or understand it if rendered. Consequently a good strike means a small fortune to each of the leaders, and having got it he is apt to disappear in order to enjoy it without observation or criticism. For instance, the men who were prominent in the strikes of April, 1886, were O'Donnell, Best, Graham, Downing, and Hughes. Not one of them appears in this. Before the last one was over, O'Donnell was to be seen strutting about with a gold-headed cane and gold badge, and exhibiting a roll of bills said to contain $3,000. The others probably fared proportionately well. The turn of Magee, Glennon, Hamilton, Smith, and Grady has now come. They, too, want to "make their pile" by some shorter method than driving cars or grooming horses. The companies, we are glad to say, now appear to understand the game thoroughly, and show no disposition to allow it to be played again on them, or on the poor men in their employ. The cars will probably not run with any regularity for a few days, and the public will have to suffer some inconvenience; but we shall be saved the scandalous spectacle of the payment of blackmail in a great city, by the holders of public franchises, to a parcel of notorious rogues and impostors.

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Happily, too, we have in New York a police which knows how to give security on the public highways to people abroad on their lawful occasions. In Brooklyn the inhabitants are less fortunate. The spectacle presented there during the last few days of a uniformed force hobnobbing and exchanging quids with rioters and murderers in the streets, is as shameful a one as was ever witnessed in a civilized community within this century. The cause of such humiliation is a subject too large to be discussed at the end of an article, but we cannot help hoping that it may serve to give the Brooklyn people the kind of shock we got here from Tweed's Ring. Brooklyn municipal politics have been of late the despair of reformers. Perhaps the revelation that the police in a time of disorder is simply an undisciplined horde, may do what argument and entreaty have failed to do. And we hope the pathetic story of the poor man who was murdered for trying to get work after two months of idleness, may do something to cool the heads and soften the hearts of the "friends of labor."

BONAPARTE AT ELBA.

PARIS, January 10, 1889.

GREAT names like the name of Napoleon Bonaparte are, so to speak, centres of crystallization. You could already fill a library with the volumes which have been written about him. The Bonaparte "Literatur," as the Germans would say, is daily increasing. Much has been added to our knowledge of the man during late years. The Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat have been perhaps the most valuable contribution to our stock of documents on the most extraordinary, and in some respects enigmatic, personage of our time. While history tends to become merely documentary, and nobody can criticise the search for truth, we must be very careful not to accept all documents as if they had the same value. The historian must also be a critic. The recent publication of M. Taine on the French Revolution and on Bonaparte is perhaps not critical enough. The same may be said of a volume just published by Marcellin Pellet, under the title, 'Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe.' The author has used documents hitherto left in a corner and which circumstances brought to his notice. He has had the curiosity to study, on the island of Elba itself, a most singular episode in the life of Napoleon, to consult the local traditions of the place; he has found the reports of an agent of the secret police of Louis XVIII. who remained in the island while Napoleon was there. This agent was a sort of reporter, who noted everything with the most minute details. His journal is full of mistakes; it mentions the most idle rumors; but it is nevertheless very interesting, as it makes us, so to speak, lead the life of Napoleon at Elba, and enter into all the passions, hopes, and illusions of the people who surrounded him. This document was found in the archives of the French Consulate at Leghorn.

Article 3 of the treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 11th of April, 1814, gave to Napoleon the island of Elba, "to form, during his lifetime, a separate principality, which will be possessed by him in full sovereignty." The allied Powers gave him a revenue of two millions of francs, guaranteed by the French treasury, besides two millions and a half of dotation for the members of his family. Napoleon left Fontainebleau on the 21st of April. It is well known that in Provence he had to travel in an Austrian uniform. He saw on his way, on April 26, his sister, Pauline Borghese, who was then staying in a villa near Orgon. Pauline would not embrace him at first, when she saw him dressed as an Austrian; she offered afterwards to accompany him to Elba. Napoleon was accompanied by four commissioners. The English commissioner, Sir Neil Campbell, left a journal, which was published in 1869, 'Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba.' The Prussian commissioner, Count Waldenburg-Truchsen, published in 1815 a relation of the itinerary of Napoleon.

Napoleon embarked on the 28th of April at Fréjus on the English frigate *Undaunted*. He only arrived five days afterwards, amidst the applause of the poor population of the island, who looked upon him as a demigod. He immediately began to organize his miniature kingdom, to form a court. Bertrand was made grand marshal, Drouot military governor of the island, Cambronne commander of Porto Ferrajo; he chose chamberlains among the most important inhabitants; he organized the veterans who had been allowed to follow him, the Corsicans who came to offer their services, into battalions. He soon had an army and a navy and a treasury, he began public works. He chose for his residence the Mulini, a house which is high above the town, gave receptions and dinners, and received visitors, chiefly English visitors who were drawn to Elba by their curiosity.

A mysterious visitor came to see him soon after his arrival; it was the Countess Walewska, whom he had first known in Warsaw in January, 1807. The Countess had afterwards joined him at his quarters, and had stayed with him for three weeks. In 1809, after Wagram, he saw her at Schoenbrun. She went to Paris, where she became the mother of a child whom she now took with her to Elba, to show him to his father. All these details were not well known at Elba, and many people thought that the mysterious lady with the child was the Empress Marie-Louise with the King of Rome. When the Countess Walewska left Elba, she went immediately to Naples with a confidential message from Napoleon for Murat.

In reality, Marie-Louise never thought of joining Napoleon again; she astonished all Europe by her attitude towards her husband and her conduct afterwards at Parma, where she had several children by General Neipperg, during the lifetime of the Emperor. Napoleon learned at Elba of the death of Josephine at Malmaison, and he was moved by this news as much, says M. Pellet, as he was capable of being moved, as he had always felt a real affection for the woman who had been the origin of his fortune. Napoleon invited his sisters, Caroline and Eliza, to come to Elba, but they both refused. Pauline and his mother Letitia came to join him. Letitia embarked at Leghorn, with Campbell. "Madame mère," says Santoni in an inedited journal, "though her attitude did not mark any joy, showed, notwithstanding her age of sixty-five years, the admirable remains of an extraordinary beauty." The populace of Leghorn hissed her. She arrived at Porto Ferrajo on the 2d of August. Pauline arrived later, as she had to fulfil a mission to Murat; she remained with her brother till he left for France.

Pauline Borghese was then thirty-five years old. She was so beautiful that Canova had taken her for the model of the "Venus Victrix" of the Villa Borghese, and of the "Venus Bathing" of the Pitti Palace. M. de Sémonville called her "the greatest and most seducing *coquine* that could be imagined." Taine cites this passage of some inedited and anonymous memoirs (they are probably the memoirs of Duke Pasquier): "No woman since the wife of the Emperor Claudius has surpassed her in the use which she dared to make of her charms." There have been many dark sayings on the relations of Bonaparte and Pauline; it is necessary to go back to Cæsar and to Lucretia Borgia to find such a complete contempt of human and divine law. Mme. de Rémusat repeats these words of Bonaparte: "I am not a man like another, and the laws of morality are not made for me." Pauline, if she did not feel superior to the rest of humanity, professed a blind and absolute obedience to her brother. (See, as to this, 'La Corte e la Società romana nei secoli XVIII.-XIX.,' by David Silvagni. Rome, 1883. Vol. iii, p. 57.) I believe, however, that at Elba Pauline acted chiefly as a political agent for her brother, and the insinuations of M. Marcellin Pellet can be answered by arguments drawn from his own book. The state of health of the Emperor which he describes, and which continued till Waterloo (all military writers have insisted on the bad state of Napoleon's health at Waterloo, which prevented his keeping on horseback) is somewhat inconsistent with Pellet's accusations. These accusations are founded only on some letters written by the French refugees at Elba, which were always opened at Leghorn and sent in extracts to M. de Talleyrand, who was then at Vienna. Whatever may be the value of these communications, which were sent by M. de Jaucourt (and not verbatim, but improved by Jaucourt), one thing is certain: Pauline was a most active political agent of her brother.

Napoleon never thought for an instant of remaining quietly at Elba. He entered immediately after his arrival into secret communication with Prince Eugene, who remained in Milan as Viceroy, and with Murat, who was still in Naples. The Cavaliere Mariotti, French consul at Leghorn, organized a complete system of observation; but he could not hinder a crowd of visitors, chiefly English, from going to Elba. During the first months of 1814, a sort of Italian movement sprang up in favor of Napoleon. The great warrior was lost to France: the Italians claimed him as a compatriot. Could he not make a new, a strong Italy? These dreams of unity were still vague, but they haunted many imaginations. Could not Napoleon be made King of Italy, with Prince Eugene, perhaps Lucien, as his successor? Many Italian emissaries were sent to Elba. Let us say at once that Napoleon did not discourage, but he never entertained, the project of becoming an Italian sovereign: his thoughts were chiefly turned on France. He only looked upon Eugene, Lucien, Murat, as allies who could help him in his French enterprise. He did not like the Italians nor Italy, though his wars in one sense assisted Italy and helped to shake her apathy.

Napoleon had his counter-police, and his own agents, who kept their eyes open on Mariotti, and on the Court of Tuscany, which was entirely under Austrian influence. He was in daily communication with Paris (see the 'Mémoires de Lucien' by Colonel Jung); he was informed of all the mistakes of the Royalists, of the sentiments of the army. He resolved to return to France, prepared munitions of war, arms, provisions, almost ostentatiously. Such was the state of public opinion at the time that on the 8th of February, 1815, Count Jaucourt could write to Talleyrand, who represented Louis XVIII. at Vienna: "It would be quite possible that you should be in this *diablerie*." Napoleon learned from Murat of the rupture of the

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Congress of Vienna, he received an emissary of Maret, Duke of Bassano (this emissary left an account of his journey, published in 1819, in England). "You will say to Bassano," said Napoleon, "that you have seen me, and that I have decided to run every risk to answer the wishes of France. I shall start on the 1st of April with my guard." The little fleet which bore the fortunes of Cæsar was composed of ten ships, and started in the evening of the 26th of February. M. Pellet tries to prove that the expedition was favored by the English Government; he believes in the complicity of Colonel Campbell. His chapter on this subject deserves to be read, but did not in the least convince me. The idea that England prepared indirectly the terrible events which followed the return from Elba, seems to me simply fantastic.

Little remains at Elba to show the trace of the passage of Napoleon. On his departure, he left his library to the city of Porto Ferrajo. The house of the Mulini now belongs to the Italian Government, but nothing remains in it. The little house at San Martino was bought by Prince Demidoff, the husband of Princess Mathilde (the daughter, still alive, of Jerome Bonaparte, and the sister of Prince Napoleon Bonaparte). Prince Demidoff made of it a Napoleonic museum, composed of objects which had belonged to the Emperor. These objects were afterwards transported to San Donato, and, in our time, all the pictures and relics of San Donato have been sold at public auction. Some frescoes only remain at San Martino. One represents two pigeons which are tied by a string —the further apart they move, the stronger the knot becomes: this was an allusion to Marie-Louise. We read on one of the walls "Ubicumque felix Napoléon." These words were dictated before the return to France, a few months before Waterloo.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF SERVIA.

ALASSIO, January 10, 1889.

ON the 27th of next June five centuries will have elapsed since that Vidovdan, so famous in legend and ballad, when the old Servian Kingdom fell a prey to the Turks on the battlefield of Kosovo, where both the Servian King Lazarus and the Sultan Amurath met their deaths. It is well that the Servian King and people should commemorate this date by a great step in their history as a liberal and civilized nation. If the Servians were among the first Christian peoples to fall under the power of the Turk, they were also among the first to rise against him. The opening years of this century were taken up with their struggles for liberty, first under Karageorge and then under Milosh Obrenovitch. They gained the right at last to manage their own affairs without Turkish interference, though still subject to tribute and to garrisons. But the land was one of patriarchal simplicity, where every one was equal—the old noble families having all disappeared, because, unlike their brothers in Bosnia, they had refused to change their religion in order to keep their lands—and the rule of the Prince, whether he was an Obrenovitch or a Karageorge, for they changed at frequent intervals, was an absolute one. The Prince, it is true, had a Council of State, who, according to the Turkish *Hatt*, "must be men possessing the entire confidence of the people and having public opinion in their favor," but they were merely creatures of the Prince, whose despotism had therefore to be tempered with revolutions. Finally, in 1862, a Turkish garrison could no longer be endured at Belgrade, and it was expelled. Prince Michael Obrenovitch, who was then on the throne, had no sooner arranged matters with the Porte than he was murdered, as the result of a plot concocted by Alexander Karageorgevitch. He was succeeded by his nephew Milan, then a boy not fourteen years old, during whose minority the government of the country was confided to a regency of three, of whom Mr. John Ristitch is the only one still living. This was in 1868. In accordance with the spirit of the time, a constitution was made—equally in accordance with the spirit of the time—of the merits of which something may be said later.

The twenty years' reign of Milan Obrenovitch naturally falls, as he himself said before the Skupshtina, into two periods. The first ten years were devoted to asserting the entire independence of the country from Turkish suzerainty. In this came the war against Turkey of 1876, caused chiefly by the outbreak in Bulgaria and the subsequent outrages committed by the Turks. It so happened that I had arrived for the first time at Belgrade the day before war was declared, and was witness of the enthusiasm which it caused. Although the Servians behaved themselves remarkably well, and were supported by Russian volunteers commanded by General Tchernáyeff, the case would have gone against them had it not been for the interference of the Powers, who were anxious to avoid a general Eastern war. Finally, through the mediation of the English Minister at Belgrade, now Sir William White, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, a peace was concluded, leaving both parties *in statu quo ante*.

It was scarcely two months after this peace before the Russians had declared war against Turkey, and the Prince of Servia, on going to the Russian headquarters, made some sort of an arrangement as to his eventual action. When the Russo-Turkish war was over, the Servians were dissatisfied with the peace of San Stefano, claiming that the conditions which had been agreed upon had not been fulfilled. If so, they were themselves perhaps partly to blame, as they had long delayed their active hostilities. The Treaty of Berlin, while it gave them more than did that of San Stefano, did not entirely satisfy their desires, and their ambitions were thwarted by the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by Servian populations. Nevertheless, what Servia obtained at Berlin was through the mediation of Austria, and in return Austria demanded very much, in the shape of a commercial treaty, which necessitated building railways and placing the country practically under the commercial preponderance of Austria-Hungary. Mr. Ristitch was still Prime Minister, and it was owing to his views and convictions about the necessity of keeping Servia aloof from foreign intrigues, and also to the fact that up to that time Russia had been the only great Power which had befriended Servia, that it was difficult for him to carry out the engagements, not taken by, but imposed upon, Servia under the Treaty of Berlin. It was necessary to change front and follow the path marked out by Austria. A so-called Conservative Minister therefore came into power. The commercial treaties were signed, the railways were built, and Servia acquitted her indebtedness to Austria. But in doing so she naturally placed herself, owing to the force of circumstances, in opposition to Russia. This is the second period of Milan's reign.

This sudden change from a patriarchal and simple-minded agricultural people to a modern state could not occur without friction. Before this all citizens had been equal. There were no poor, and inequalities of wealth had somehow been concealed and were not noticed. Now, with the influx of foreign capital and of foreign labor—for the railways were built chiefly by Italians—with the mania for concessions and large Government enterprises, the distinction between classes, which had only existed in the largest towns, became visible, with its natural consequence on politics. The radical element became developed, a thing unknown before, and Servian politics took an entirely new turn. It was soon seen that the old Constitution was utterly unadapted to the changed state of affairs, and prevented the proper development of the country. In fact, it added to the elements of discontent within it. But the difficulties in the way of amending the Constitution were so great as to cause delays, and although the question was mooted at once, yet even when the principality was raised to a kingdom it was thought better not to propose any except merely formal changes in the wording of the Constitution. In addition to all the other difficulties in the way, there were plots for the assassination of the King, the unfortunate war with Bulgaria, the necessity of deposing the Metropolitan on account of his intrigues with Russia, and the family troubles which finally resulted in the divorce of the Queen. Once these difficulties all removed, the King returned to his own original idea of remodelling the Constitution. He had learnt by experience that it is much easier to govern as a constitutional monarch than as an autocrat, which he was not, or as a semi-autocrat, which he was.

King Milan is a very remarkable man, whose faculties would be at once recognized had he the opportunity of exhibiting them on a large scale in a great country. To all the solid qualities of a Servian he adds what Servians rarely possess, a certain poetic faculty of idealism, derived probably from the Latin blood in him coming from his Rumanian mother, who was one of the Catargi family, distinguished in Rumanian history. He had been little in Servia, and from boyhood had been educated in France, being brought back after the murder of his uncle, Prince Michael. When I first met him, twelve years ago, he was only twenty-two years of age, and had been ruling independently only four years. But even then he seemed to know his country better than any of his Ministers. At the present time he is without doubt the most astute politician in Servia, and his fund of general information, which is constantly growing, has, on each interview, increased my respect for him and for his abilities. The leader of the old party, Ristitch, is by no means the selfishly ambitious man, of retrograde instincts and decided leanings in favor of Russia, that he is generally made out to be. He was one of the Regents during the minority of King Milan, at a time when the admission of foreign influence into Servia, as into any other of the Balkan States, seemed to mean its subserviency to a foreign Power. He believed in Servia for the Servians, and although at that time and since he may have leaned towards Russia as the country which was most likely to help the Servians, he was at the same time indisposed to modern improvements which would bring the country under the influence of the Austrians, and especially under the preponderance of financiers, chiefly Jews, having their headquarters at Vienna, Berlin, or Paris. He was therefore not a fit instrument during the period of transition following on the Berlin Conference; but now that the *volte-face* has been successfully made without too great a surrender of Servian rights, he is as ready as any one else to accept accomplished facts and begin anew. The demands of Austria-Hungary for

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the fulfilment of certain conditions inserted in the Treaty of Berlin—which, by the way, was not signed by Servia—for the completion of railways and the conclusion of a commercial treaty were put in such a brutal manner, if the expression may be allowed, that a change of Ministry was absolutely necessary, and a party came into power calling themselves at first Conservatives, simply because the party of Ristitch called themselves Liberals, and afterwards, as now, taking the name of Progressives.

This party has been best represented by two men, Mr. Garashánin, the son of the old Regent, a man of western education, and a westerner also in manners and politeness, and Mr. Miyátovitch. The latter was educated at a German university, married an American lady, and is one of the most learned and most highly cultivated men in the country, being now President of the Academy of Sciences. Although he has been several times Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as Minister in London and Paris, his strong point is finance, and it is to him that Servia owes the placing of its financial affairs on a sound basis. The only other leader of importance at the present time is the head of the Radical party, General Savva Grúitch, a very charming man, with an amiable and perhaps not too strong character, which enables him easily to be put forward as the mouthpiece of the Radical party, which represents nothing unless discontent, fostered as it has been by the semi-education given to the children of the Servian peasants in the high schools and university. Two foreigners should be mentioned as important factors in Servian politics, Count Bray, the German Minister, a personal friend of the King, and Mr. Persiani, the Russian Minister, who has been in Belgrade since 1875, and who, during his long residence, has very properly made friends and exercised influence wherever he thought it would be best for his own Government.

Servian affairs not long ago came prominently before the public in a disagreeable, sensational way, in consequence of dissensions in the royal family, which resulted in the divorce of Queen Natalie. Sovereigns always find difficulty in the annulment of their marriages, as witness Henry VIII., Napoleon I., and George IV., sometimes owing to religious and sometimes to sentimental reasons. In this case nothing was alleged against the personal honor of the Queen, but she so far forgot what she owed to her husband and to her station as to meddle in politics, and to have views opposite to those of the King. Even when she was living separated from him, and protested that she engaged in no political intrigues, she did not at times conceal the fact that she was greatly interested in politics. At last it became almost a question of the duration of the King's reign and of the Obrenovitch dynasty, and, as divorce is very easy in the Eastern Church, it was finally pronounced by the Metropolitan, from whom, as he is the head of an independent church, there is no appeal. The Queen, unfortunately, not only then, but in all her previous conduct, had forgotten that, although she was connected with princely houses in Rumania, she was not a Servian by blood, and could not count on the entire sympathy of the population, and that she was not of royal family, and would therefore have no supporters among the governments of Europe. Much as the friends of the Queen, and even those of the King, may regret the divorce, yet, as it is now an accomplished fact, and is perfectly legal, nothing more can be said.

On the heels of the decree of divorce came a proclamation asking for a revision of the Constitution. Although it may be thought that this was simply a method of diverting public attention from the King's domestic affairs, yet I at least can bear witness that this idea was in the King's mind fully eight or nine years ago. Fortunately a loophole was found in the old Constitution by which all the delays could be avoided. A commission of seventy members was appointed by the King, including clergy, former ministers, and members of the Council of State, the rector and six professors of the university, two generals on the retired list, and thirty-one members from the community at large—merchants, agriculturists, lawyers, bankers, and priests. The King himself took the presidency—not merely nominally, for he was present at nearly every meeting of the commission—and the three vice-presidents were Ristitch for the Liberals, Garashánin for the Progressives, and Grúitch for the Radicals, although the last was not in favor. What the King desired was not a constitution drawn up by a majority of the members, but a fair compromise between the different parties, and such was the result. The Constitution was to be submitted to a great Skupshtina, or assembly elected for the purpose. The first elections were annulled in consequence of complaints brought of undue influence, the King having promised that the election should be perfectly free. As might have been expected, the Radicals returned a very large majority, and, on the strength of that, the draft Constitution not having yet been passed, they demanded the insertion of various provisions on which they had been previously outvoted. On this occasion the King did not take part in the commission, in order that a compromise might be arrived at without suggestions of his influence. That once done, he informed them in a very telling speech that as all the leading members of all parties had been represented, who were responsible in one sense for the votes of those whom they had elected as members of the Grand Assembly, the Constitution must be accepted or rejected without amendment or discussion. He expressed himself very plainly, much more so than American statesmen would be inclined to do in a similar case, because he was willing to use current political terminology, as, for instance, "Mugwumps" (though in Servia they are called "Savages"); and although he did not say it outright, he gave the politicians to understand that the choice was between accepting the new Constitution or no constitution at all. Naturally he carried the day, and the new Constitution was voted by a tremendous majority—494 to 73.

On comparing the new Constitution, the definitive text of which lies before me as I write, with the old one and with other constitutions of Europe, what strikes one is the great advantage it has over the old, and then that it is one of the most liberal constitutions in Europe. One might have perhaps a hesitation about accepting all its good qualities, were it not that the Servians are an honest, straightforward, conservative, and law-abiding people, who have done so well under an imperfect constitution that they may be fairly trusted to work this one rightly. The statement of the rights of Servian citizens is very clearly expressed, and they are fully equal to those of Americans or Englishmen. No one can be arrested without warrant, except when caught *in flagrante delicto*. Exile from the country is forbidden as a punishment; domiciliary research is forbidden without a warrant, and in no case can be allowed at night; confiscation is forbidden; religious liberty is guaranteed, though proselytism from the state religion is forbidden (this being copied from the old Constitution); instruction is free, primary instruction being obligatory and gratuitous; the press is entirely free; the right of public meeting and of association is guaranteed, as well as of petition and of accusation against all public officials who infringe the law in any of these respects. The extradition of political criminals is forbidden, and the right of expatriation is allowed to every Servian who has fulfilled the duties to his own country incumbent on him at the time of his emigration.

One of the greatest changes is that in the formation of the representative Assembly. There is only one house, as formerly, but the number of members is lessened by having only one member in the country districts for every 4,500 taxpayers, instead of one for every 3,000, as formerly. The cities and large towns, however, are given each a representative, Belgrade, however, having four, and Nish and Kraguyevatz having two each. The commune, including the village, of Takova, where Servian independence was first proclaimed, and that of Dobrine, the headquarters of the Obrenovitch family, are also, for honor's sake, to be allowed a special representative. With the usual exception for loss of rights by judicial process, every Servian, twenty-one years old, who pays three dollars a year direct taxes, is allowed a vote. The members of the Assembly are not to be elected by districts, but by general ticket (*scrutin de liste*) in each province, of which there are to be ten, and at least three of the deputies from each province must have taken a degree, either at the university at Belgrade or at some corresponding university abroad. One of the great difficulties with the old Constitution was that no person who had ever been a Government official could be elected to the Assembly, and the same restriction was imposed on lawyers. The result was to throw the whole representation into the hands of the peasant and uneducated classes. This is now entirely abolished; but, with the exception of Ministers, members of the Council of State, diplomatists, judges, professors, and officials who have retired or are not in active service, no person in the service of the state can be a deputy. Should a deputy become an official after his election, he must retire from the Chamber and submit to a new election, except in the case of Ministers. These exceptions, however, with the provision about three members for each province who have obtained university degrees, are sufficient to secure the representation of the educated classes, and provide against revolutionary intrigues, by allowing the real heads of parties to be members of the National Assembly. The deputies are to be paid, and, in accordance with French rather than English constitutional law, no deputy can be arrested, except when caught *in flagrante delicto*, without the permission of the Assembly, during the whole of his term, and even then a trial cannot take place without the authorization of the Assembly. The term of the Assembly is fixed at three years, unless it be sooner dissolved. One-half of the Assembly is required to be present to form a quorum as usual, but it is to be regretted that in this case the Servians did not adopt the useful provision of the Constitution of the United States that a smaller number can adjourn from day to day, and that the Speaker is authorized to compel the attendance of members sufficient to make a legal quorum. It has been one of the great difficulties of European parliamentary governments that when the Opposition is numerous, and not all of the Government members are present, business may be delayed for days and even for weeks in consequence of there not being a majority of the members of the House present, and of there be-

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ing no method of compelling their attendance. Another feature which is common throughout Europe, but which seems to Americans and Englishmen very absurd and is productive of much delay, is that the Speaker and all the officers of the Assembly are not elected for the whole term, but only for the session, whether ordinary or extraordinary.

By the old Constitution, which was the first attempt of the Servians at representative government, an effort was made to strengthen the royal prerogative by allowing the King or his Ministers for the time being to appoint a number of deputies equal to one-third of the number elected. The object of this was of course to give the party in power a working majority, but it did not succeed well in practice, and was omitted from the new Constitution on the King's own proposition. The Assembly, therefore, is now entirely a representative one. As before, the National Assembly consists of only one house, but by the side of this there is a Council of State. That institution existed in Servia before, the members being appointed by the King. Now the members are to be appointed for life by the King and the Assembly conjointly—sixteen in number, one-half elected by the Assembly from a list given by the King, and the other half appointed by the King from a list elected by the Assembly. This, of course, was the result of a compromise. Among the attributes of this council is that of supervising and revising every bill brought into the Assembly, whether by the King or his Ministers, or arising in the Assembly itself, except the laws relating to the budget. Everything, to speak broadly, relating to finances is in the power of the National Assembly. The Government can make no debt without its sanction, and although the King has the right of declaring war and making peace, no treaty can be made which affects in any way the rights of individual Servians or the finances of the state without the sanction of the Assembly, and no treaty can be made by which a foreign army can either enter Servia or pass through its territory without the consent of the Assembly. The budget is voted for only one year, and it is a sign of the development of the country that a provision is inserted in the Constitution that all mines and all monopolies belong to the state, although they may be rented to private persons. The judiciary is independent and irremovable, except by impeachment, and no extra-judicial function can be imposed on judges, even by law, without their consent.

The new Constitution has already gone into effect by its proclamation, but there are certain transitory provisions for the electoral law and the Council of State which are to prevail until the meeting of the extraordinary session of the National Assembly on October 13, 1889, which is to pass laws regulating the electoral law, the arrangement of districts and communes, and all else to put the Constitution entirely into force. EUGENE SCHUYLER.

ATTIC AND OTHER GREEK DIGGINGS.

ATHENS, December 27, 1888.

THE close of the year affords a fitting opportunity for reviewing the results of recent excavations in Greece. The work of the Greek Archæological Society upon the Acropolis has continued under the competent direction of the general Ephor, Mr. Kavvadias, without interruption up to the present time, and by the end of the Greek year the work on that site will be finished. The summer was spent in excavating the area between the Parthenon and the south wall of the Acropolis. The wall between the substructure of the Parthenon and the Acropolis wall, which was first met with in the spring, continued for nearly the whole length of the Parthenon, and in the space between this central wall and the Acropolis wall were found several cross walls of similar construction and apparently intended for the purpose of support. It is supposed that the area between the central wall and the Parthenon was a terrace for the support of the Parthenon substructure, and rose simultaneously with it, while the other portion, between the central wall and the Acropolis wall, was filled in afterwards. Near the west end of the Parthenon the central wall meets a part of the old Cyclopean wall, in which is an interesting stairway; this has been left visible by the excavators by means of supporting walls. By far the most important find in the line of sculpture was a marble relief representing Athene clad in a long sleeveless tunic, with helmet upon her head, leaning upon a spear with her left hand and resting her right upon her waist. She is facing to the right, and looking downward with a melancholy expression. In front of her is a stele, probably ornamented with painting. Mr. Kavvadias considers that it belongs to the times immediately before Pheidias, but Dr. Waldstein, who has just arrived, and whom Kavvadias has invited to publish this relief, says that it belongs to the last part of the fifth century, and is to be connected with the famous Velletri Athene of the Louvre, which has given archæologists so much trouble to explain. He believes that it will show that the Velletri statue goes back to an early original, and will be of service in its restoration.

A large Triton's head of *poros* and brilliantly painted, similar to the two found during the spring, was another important result of the summer's excavation. Herr Brünckner, a member of the German Institute, obtained permission to study these three heads and other *poros* fragments found at various times, and succeeded in combining them into a three-bodied Triton, in which form they are now set up in the Museum. There has been considerable discussion recently about better measures for preserving the colors. The painted objects are eventually to be placed in air-tight glass cases; but while these are preparing, much of the color may be lost. For example, the colors upon the two Tritons' heads when unearthed last spring were of extraordinary brilliancy, but now are quite dingy and faded. The coloring matter seems to be of a powdery nature, and the careless way in which the attendants dust off these monuments is anything but preservative.

During the autumn the work has been chiefly in the space between the Parthenon and the Propylæa, though some excavating was also done beneath the floor of the present Museum, and resulted in the finding of portions of the old Cyclopean wall. The excavations upon the site usually ascribed to a temple of Athene Ergane were watched with interest, as the finding of any considerable substructure walls would disprove Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis that such a temple never existed upon the Acropolis; but no temple remains were found. Dr. Dörpfeld claims to have identified here the Chalkotheke. A few weeks ago was found another of the archaic female statues which form such an important and interesting feature of the Acropolis Museum, the chiton in this case being of one solid color, a beautiful light green. Many fragments of statues, all of the archaic period, and exhibiting plentiful traces of color, have been recently found—one a very good male head with the beard colored a very dark blue. It was reported in one of the papers here a short time ago that an inscription of the artist Endoios, the question of whose date has given rise to so much epigraphical discussion, had been found; but the last letters only of the inscription are of a date corresponding to that of the already known Endoios base, whereas the first line, which contains a portion of the name Endoios, is plainly of a later period. It may, however, be a reinscribing of the name.

The most important find of the whole year was made within the last week. In that portion of the southern wall of the Acropolis which was built up above the Kimonian wall—whether in Frankish or Turkish times, no one knows—was found a fragment of a relief representing a female head with a very peculiar treatment of the hair and a portion of a hand grasping it. To the right of the head was a flat raised surface, which was at first taken to be the hind part of a horse. The style and character of the work instantly revealed to the Greek archæologists, Messrs. Kavvadias and Staïs, a connection with the Parthenon frieze, but they were considerably disconcerted by the treatment of the hair, which is unlike anything to be found in the Parthenon sculptures. Dr. Waldstein, being invited to look at it, was almost instantly able to assign it to its correct position, namely, as the missing head of the Iris in the group of divinities a little to the left of the centre of the eastern frieze. On the original slab, which is in the British Museum, are Zeus and Hera seated, with the headless form of Iris standing beside them, the left wing and arm being visible. The fragment just found supplies the head, the right wing (which at first glance appeared more like the rump of a horse), and the hand of the left arm. Mr. Kavvadias has invited Dr. Waldstein to read a paper upon this fragment at a public session of the school at which it is thought likely that the King will be present.

The work on the top of the Acropolis is practically finished already, but the demolition of the Turkish walls and modern guardhouses which disfigured the west side is not yet completed. The walls of the Turkish bastion, through which has been the ordinary entrance to the Acropolis for some years, are torn down, and visitors now enter by the Beulé gate. As soon as all work on the Acropolis is finished, the Greek Society will begin to clear away the débris on the northern slope, where they are almost certain to meet with satisfactory results.

Dr. Schliemann went to Pylos during the autumn, but found nothing but Turkish buildings, and soon withdrew. The German School has undertaken no excavations this season, and, so far as I know, is not projecting any. The French excavated again in Bœotia at the temple of Ptoon Apollo during the month of September, and found a couple of heads of the archaic Apollo type. In the town of Karditza, near the site of the excavations, M. Holleaux discovered a long inscription containing a speech of Nero. The stone was in the interior wall of a church, and the deciphering of the letters cost the finder much labor; but he was well repaid by the very important character of the document. The inscription is divided into three heads: the first being a proclamation of the Emperor Nero, inviting the inhabitants of the province to assemble at Corinth on a certain date; the second being the speech delivered on that occasion; and the third a vote of thanks to him and a decree to set up an altar to Nero Zeus, the Liberator. The second portion, the speech proper, begins by stating that the gift about to be bestowed on the people is something entirely unexpected, although there is nothing which they might not hope from his

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magnanimity. All the Greeks inhabiting Achæa or Peloponnesus are to receive their freedom, which they have not enjoyed even in the most prosperous times, since they were always slaves to others or to each other. The address closes magniloquently with—"Other rulers too set cities free, but Nero a whole province."

On October 1 the French transferred the scene of their operations to Thespiæ, from which place they returned only a few weeks ago. They pulled down a Byzantine church situated upon the site of the Temple of the Muses, which was shown to be a simple cella without dividing walls, having its entrance at the north. Excavations were also undertaken in the theatre, where the Greek Ephor Stamatakis made a beginning several years ago. The stage arrangements, as far as they have been disclosed, are similar to those of the theatre at Epidaurus, but none of the orchestra-chairs were found. A considerable number of inscriptions, including many dedications, were brought to light. Work at Thespiæ is to be resumed in the spring.

Work at Ikaria was carried on for several weeks by the American School, the chief object being to clear away a mass of earth which was left last year within the sacred precinct. A deep trench was cut through this part last spring without striking anything, but it seemed advisable to remove the whole mass of soil there and clear the entire precinct. This was done at the outlay of some time and expense for which the results were not commensurable with last year's, but still were of no mean importance, especially when we remember that every stone *in situ* is of the greatest value in making out the general plan. One wall, which runs not far in front of some massive marble seats *in situ*, was supposed last year to be the front wall of some structure, but the excavations this year have shown that the wall curves inward towards the line of the seats at each end for a distance of two metres, and then terminates. This shape of the wall, taken in connection with the marble seats and the eminence in the background, seems strongly suggestive of a theatre structure, though it must be acknowledged that it could not be brought into any connection with any known form. The seats are in a straight, not a curved line, and it looks as if the audience had moved down into the very orchestra, if orchestra it was. In fact, there are so many difficulties that one cannot be sure that the notion of a theatre in this connection is more than a pleasing fancy, excusable, however, on the ground that many of the rural theatres were of too primitive a nature to be judged by the usual standards.

A subordinate object of the work this season was to follow up a rough sort of platform, which seemed to extend indefinitely from the north peribolos wall of the precinct. One edge was found, but it extended to the west into a terrace where the deposit of soil was over two metres deep, and the work here progressed so slowly that it seemed best to give it up, at least temporarily, in order to be sure that nothing should be left undone within the precinct. In clearing a passage along this northern wall, there was found a huge hollow stone broken at one end, but having about the edges five mysterious objects, the explanation of which is no easy task. A corner-piece with a similar object upon it was found last year, and was a complete puzzle to every one who saw it. Crocodile feet, birds' tails, shells, bunches of grapes, etc., have been suggested, and give an idea of the lack of definiteness in the form of the objects. The idea that they are to be explained as fragments of some creature is ruled out by the fact that one of these objects shows itself absolutely intact. Dr. Waldstein thinks that, owing to the pyramidal form of one side, the whole piece must be a portion of a roof with a representation of shells on the under side; but I am very loath to give up my own theory that it was a huge basin for offering sacred cakes to the god Dionysos, and that these objects are representations of cakes made with a sort of pine-cone mould. A wall-painting from Pompeii represents a statue of Dionysos, and before it a huge hollow basin in which there is, besides several fruits, a cake made in the form of a pine-cone. This is not the place for a detailed discussion, however, and, besides, no one can have a clear idea of the appearance of these strange objects without some visible representation before him. Among the other sculptures found this season was a bearded portrait-head of the Roman period. An overhauling of the débris also yielded a few fragments which had been overlooked last year—one of great importance, namely, the left thigh of the archaic draped torso found last year, which shows beyond a doubt, as had been conjectured, that the statue was seated.

As has been already remarked, the results of the excavations this fall were not as great as last spring, but this was not expected. Up to this time the entire sum spent in Ikaria has been about $400. It must be rarely indeed that an equal outlay can produce results so important as these. We have fixed beyond a doubt the site of the deme of Ikaria, in reference to which there have hitherto been the most diverse opinions. We have not merely fixed the site in the sense in which other deme sites are known, but, what is unique, we have discovered the actual deme seat, the political and religious centre. Architectural, sculptural, and epigraphical remains combine to show the existence of two very important religious cults, those of Dionysos and Apollo. The first was naturally the most important, and was inseparably connected with the history of the locality. The Apollo cult, which can be shown by epigraphical evidence to have existed in the fifth century, is of great importance in the consideration of the introduction and spread of Apollo worship in Attica, and thus bears indirectly on the question of the early race or tribe relations within Attica. The proximity of Ikaria to Marathon makes the presence of an Apollo cult especially interesting in connection with Curtius's theory of the Ionian migration.

The architectural remains, comprising three buildings, are of considerable importance and interest, and a unique feature is the manner of "labelling" the Apollo temple on the door-sill, though on the door-sill of the Isis temple at Pompeii is an inscription in reference to its restoration after an earthquake. The sculptural remains extend from the earliest period of archaic art to the Roman period, and include some fine specimens of the best period. The colossal head which Mr. Kavvadias last year considered archaistic, is held by Dr. Waldstein to be genuinely archaic.

The inscriptions, most of them belonging to the fifth or fourth century, but a few of late Roman times, furnish a large amount of material of great historical importance, and, it is hoped, will throw much light upon the political and religious life of a country deme, about which comparatively little is known. The very insufficiency of our knowledge, which makes inscriptions of this kind the more interesting and important, also makes the restoration and interpretation of fragments the more difficult. Not by any means the least interesting point in reference to Ikaria is the name Dionysos, by which the whole region is at present called. This is probably a reminiscence of the old cult of Dionysos in this place, which has been transmitted through the tongue of the people for so many centuries.

While at Ikaria in the autumn I devoted a day to exploring with a friend the region about Stamata, a small village lying just beyond the ridge which shuts in on the north the valley leading in to Ikaria. Some have placed at Stamata the deme of Semachidæ, though no ground for this could be given at the time. Others, including Lolling in the last edition of Baedeker's 'Greece,' believe that Stamata may be upon the site of Hekale, a deme which must have been situated on the road from Athens to Marathon. Now, the present village of Stamata was settled in this century, and there is no reason to believe that it is upon the site of any deme centre. But about half an hour's distance to the north, and not five minutes' walk from the present road to Marathon, are the ruins of three churches, each of them built largely of ancient materials. May not this be the seat of the deme of Hekale? To the south of the present village lay the old Stamata, which was only deserted in this century. Here also is a ruin of a large church with two apses, and containing in its walls many ancient blocks. Near this place the owner of the property found a female statue of the Roman period a few years ago. I feel strongly inclined to believe that here lay the deme of Semachidæ. The vicinity of this deme to Ikaria has been maintained by several on account of the similarity of the myths. Its vicinity also to Plotheia is shown by the fact that Semachidæ and Plotheia are two of the three villages of the Epakria, one of the original Ionic "cities" or confederations which, like the Marathonian tetrapolis, continued after the reform of Cleisthenes in the form of a religious community. I also believe that Ikaria was the third village of the community; but as there is no direct proof of this, we cannot use it as a further evidence for the vicinity of Semachidæ to Plotheia. Now the site of Ikaria is absolutely fixed, and that of Plotheia can be placed with a very strong probability at the entrance of the valley leading in to Ikaria. This church ruin is northeast from Plotheia and northwest from Ikaria, about equally distant from each, so that no place seems to be better calculated to meet the topographical requirements of Semachidæ.

Still, we cannot put absolute faith in combinations of this kind, and it is to be hoped that within a short time some more definite evidence may be obtained. The friend who explored the place with me, Mr. Washington of Yale, '86, was so much interested that he offered to make trial of both places near Stamata at his own expense, and has begun work this very day.* The School has also obtained permission to excavate in Bœotia, at either Thisbe, Platæa, or Anthedon, and Drs. Waldstein and Tarbell, with some members of the School, are to make a trip to all these places to see which is most promising. There is no doubt that there are plenty of sites which would be well worth excavating if sufficient funds were at hand to be devoted to this purpose. The great excitement now, of course, is Delphi: but everything is still in a state of uncertainty.

The work of the School in Athens has been going on smoothly, Mr. Tarbell having proved

* While our correspondent's letter was getting into type, we received news that Mr. Washington had within a week found, at old Stamata, besides various fragments of sculpture, an unusually well-preserved female torso of more than life size, and several inscriptions which establish this as the chief centre of the deme Plotheia, which may have extended into the valley as above described. Clearly, the spade can hardly be put into the soil in Greece without bringing to light new facts and old treasures.—Ed. Nation.

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a most accurate and discriminating guide to the students in all branches of their study. Dr. Waldstein arrived December 15, and has taken hold of his work here with great energy, having already given several lectures at the School library and the museums. He is also laboring to make the School take its stand as an archæological institute for advanced research, and to establish a prestige for it here. He is about to institute a series of public meetings, to which members of the other archæological schools and the Greek archæologists will be invited. At these meetings papers will be read by the directors and members upon special subjects, manifesting original work and containing some contributions to science. He also hopes to begin the publication of reports in Athens in order to avoid the delay inevitable when papers are published in America. Many objects which might in this case be given to the School for publication are now withheld, owing to the great delay necessary before the article appears.

The hospitality of the other schools has been very marked. Dr. Dörpfeld of the German Institute has been especially kind in inviting all the members of our own School to his peripatetic lectures, which are models of clearness and accuracy, and teeming with the most brilliant *Kombinationen*. The regular meetings of the German School were inaugurated on Winckelmann's birthday, and papers were read by Dörpfeld, Wolters, and Brünckner. Dörpfeld's paper was especially interesting, being a comparison of the palace remains of Tiryns and Mycenæ with those of Phœnician construction, especially Solomon's temple.

C. D. B.

Correspondence.

DECAY OF MASSACHUSETTS FARM LANDS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent "G. W. A." need not have gone so far as New Hampshire for examples to refute Senator Hoar's curious proposition that the existence of a mortgage on a New England farm is a sign of life and health. The writer has spent the last three summers in an attractive farming town in the very heart of Massachusetts (Holden)—a town immediately adjoining Senator Hoar's residence (Worcester), and connected with it by five daily railway trains. In this town there is, as I was assured, a larger amount of woodland and a smaller amount of cultivated land than forty years ago; the men whom one sees working in the fields are almost always past middle life; and some of the best farms are in the hands of Swedes or Irishmen.

I found the subject of mortgages always a fertile theme among the farmers, and never encountered one who took the view of them taken by his neighbor, Senator Hoar. On the contrary, the view always taken was that they were almost an unmixed calamity, and that the farmer was lucky who, having once incurred one, paid it off during his lifetime. Very little money passes directly through a New England farmer's hands, and on that little the mortgage has the first claim; and the needs of a sick wife, or a child demanding education, have to be made secondary. If his house or barn is burned, the existence of the mortgage may make rebuilding impossible, and this was named to me in explanation of several abandoned farms. I was sometimes urged to take farm property off the farmer's hands for the bare amount of the mortgage; being once offered about fifty acres of mortgaged woodland, within a mile of the village post-office and railway station, for $1,000. This offer being declined, the owner afterwards sold off the timber for $500, thus paying off half the mortgage; and he must, to all appearance, pay interest and taxes for thirty years until the lot is sufficiently grown up in timber to be cleared again. Meantime he loses his firewood, which was the only advantage he derived from that part of his farm; and he also loses the beauty of the pine wood, which was the chief thing that made his farm attractive to summer boarders. It seems to me that there can be no better illustration of the strange logical results of the high protective system than that it should lead a Massachusetts Senator seriously to assert that a mortgage on a New England farm is a sign of health.

T. W. H.

Cambridge, Mass.

GETTING AT THE FARMER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. Mills Whittlesey, in No. 1229, proposes to win the farmer to tariff reform by giving him a "sound library of political economy" to read during the "long winter evenings." Reforms of all kinds for the farmer are frequently based upon the presumed leisure of the long winter evening. (I don't believe in that kind of reform myself—I mean class reform. What is wanted is a tariff reform that will interest all classes.) There are as many kinds of individuals among farmers as in other callings. There are also many kinds of farming. In some kinds the farmer is as busy in January as in July. If he reads, he reads at all seasons of the year; if he doesn't, all the leisure of all his life will not give him time enough to read five books on political economy. If he is intelligent and bookish, he is likely to say when the five-book subject is broached to him: "I have more reading material now than I get time to look at. There is So-and-So, he is an educated man; he pretends to know. If your books convince him, I'll think about it." In general terms, the farmer is moved and acted upon chiefly by local men, local causes. The editors of the country papers, the lawyer-politicians of the county town, and also the local clergymen are his main guides on the subject of the tariff as in many other things.

"Knowledge is of things we see,"

and the farmer sees the men who are nearest him. Their opinion is of a vast deal more consequence to him than is that of Francis A. Walker. If he has accidentally heard of Taussig, it is only to be prejudiced against him as a "literary feller," a "doctrinaire" in some "down-East college," whose opinion on the tariff sinks into insignificance when compared with the boundless knowledge of the Hon. James G. Buncombe, as displayed in that speech of his in the town hall just before his election to the State Legislature. He knows "Jim" is a "smart feller": he has his doubts about Fawcett.

While the preacher is seldom an active force in politics now, how he votes is well enough known, and carries with it the force of an acknowledged leader. I do not know of any statistics on this point, but I venture to suppose that 65 per cent. of the clergymen in Republican States vote that ticket and advocate the protection idea.

The farmer, I hold, is to be reached better by indirect influences than by direct. What is desired is to reach the three classes enumerated, to whom he delegates his political thinking. These latter are unquestionably more intelligent, and more likely to weigh and act upon book evidence, than the former. If these can be converted, then the conversion of the farmer is a foregone conclusion. To them the books could be sent with some faint prospect of their being read.

But this brings us logically to the question of where do the editors, and lawyers, and politicians, and preachers get their tariff ideas? While they are derived to a large degree from inherited prejudices and circumstances of environment, they also depend in turn upon the influences emanating from the half-dozen large cities—the papers, magazines, journals, the speeches of men prominent in public and business life. So long as men of eminence favor and uphold protection, and so long as many newspapers of wide circulation urge its claims from week to week and day to day, so long it is bound to continue. To this last group of citizens, then—the editors of protection papers (not the organs, but the papers which uphold protection because they believe in it), the distinguished advocates and jurists, the clergymen of high degree in the great cities—to the men who stand upon the heights—would Mr. Whittlesey still better appeal than to any others. Convince any considerable number of them, and again the cause is won. The local papers, the petty politicians, the faithful clergymen on small pay, would follow, and in their wake would our farmer friends appear rolling up the majorities of certain victory.

If, for instance, the five books could be read by the Rev. Dr. Storrs, who said during the last campaign that he believed "there was something in the protective idea," it might be the means of convincing, not one man only, but a host of his admirers and friends. If, likewise, the editors of a non-political paper like the New York *Independent* could be persuaded to take a course in economics at Columbia, and simply announce that they thought protection a robbing game, it would stir up in a decisive way intelligent men in every considerable town in the land. And lastly, if each protection-upholding Congressman could have his every economical utterance subjected to analysis by a person well versed in sound economical literature, and this scattered as widely among his constituents as the speech—whether delivered or not—is by means of the *Congressional Globe*, then the farmer constituent might become interested in a subject which his own Congressman seemed to find opposition in.

In closing, allow me to call attention to three popular movements which have in view "good government by aiding in the training of intelligent and independent American citizens." First are the Political Economy and Political Science Schools of Chautauqua University; second is the American School of Politics (Chicago); third are the Reading Clubs of the Tariff-Reform League.—Very respectfully,

Theodore Jessup.

Baldwin, Wis., January 20, 1889.

THE FARMER'S LOCAL NEWSPAPER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Please allow me, first of all, to thank those who have contributed suggestions in answer to my letter of recent date, published in your columns.

Let me add to the suggestions I then made a less expensive and a more interesting and promising plan. Many country towns have one local paper of each prominent political faith. These sheets are read by the farmers of the near neighborhood. It is probable that the subscription list of each Republican newspaper,

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even of this limited circulation, contains the name of one Republican who is dissatisfied with the course of his party with reference to the tariff. Indeed, perhaps one Mugwump in each neighborhood reads such a paper for the local news.

These papers are filled largely by voluntary contributions from subscribers. This presents a good opportunity for opening a discussion and inviting replies. A farmer who might be unwilling to be educated, would possibly enter the lists to annihilate our audacious adventurer with a few—to him—self-evident facts. Then, if our champion were a thorough student of "maxims" and "markets," an opportunity would be afforded him of giving these supposed facts that examination which they will rarely bear, with that accompanying interpretation which should operate to correct the false notions of the whole neighborhood.

It is the difficulty of exciting discussion, rather than any doubt as to its eventual outcome, which is the discouraging thing. In one way or another, in all feasible ways, discussion must be stimulated. It is on appeals to prejudice and on the absence of sound discussion that private interests rely to perpetuate their privileges. Let the opposite side use the same means if they choose; the more they court discussion the better we shall like it. One difficulty is that a single speech of McKinley's can set afloat a greater fog of unreason and misconception than any brief discussion can dispel. There is no place in such an arena for jaunty confidence. It would be the best possible school for training in power of concise statement. Months of careful study of the best authorities might well precede such a debate. This plan is also applicable to the case of laborers in the smaller manufacturing towns.

One of the letters which I have received regrets the speedy dismemberment of organizations to promote tariff reform. In an organization not every member is a worker. What is everybody's business is nobody's. It is conceivable that the work of fifty men, each singly leavening the intimate circle that knows and has confidence in him as a neighbor, might turn the scale in Michigan in 1892, and so in other States of the Northwest. Of course, I hope that organizations to promote tariff reform may live and thrive. We can hardly have too many really active agencies in this good work.

Jevons says: "If people do not understand a true political economy, they will make a false one of their own." Now that this false one, fully made, confronts us, almost more than finite pains and patience will be needed to eradicate it. When it is considered that one lapse of patience may suffice to confirm a deluded victim of selfish interests in his prejudices, the need of "sweetness" as well as "light" will be obvious.

I see that the *Independent*, in its issue for January 24, proposes to class the teacher of free trade, in certain institutions, with traitors, heretics, and Anarchists. Perhaps we are risking thumb-screws, the rack, etc., in advocating free-trade principles. Certainly discussion does not exactly seem invited. Can the last campaign have made so deep an impression on the strongholds of protection that discussion is feared? I hope this will not be taken as an expression of impatience. Really, the *Independent* should consign such editorials to its "Pebbles" column. That has not contained anything so funny in twenty years.

MILLS WHITTLESEY.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J., January 24, 1889.

[We have grave doubts whether in ordinary times the partisan local newspapers will show hospitality to opposing views for the sake of free discussion. In campaign times we have known of a price being asked (and paid) for a "Mugwump" column in New Jersey papers.—ED. NATION.]

THE EFFECT OF FRAMING UPON A PICTURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A fashion has grown up in Boston of late years which I presume prevails more or less in other cities. There is a legion of dining-clubs, meeting periodically, and based upon all sorts of considerations of profession, trade, locality, society, art, music, etc. As, besides material entertainment, they wish to be instructed and amused, they make a practice of selecting some subject, and inviting persons supposed to have a special knowledge of that subject to be their guests and make them after-dinner speeches. As, so far from hiding their candle under a bushel, they are quite willing that their light should shine before men, they frequently have a shorthand reporter, and the remarks of the speakers are taken down verbatim. It is to be supposed that, as the papers print these reports in full, they supply, or are believed to supply, a public want, and form a curious contrast to the summary way in which the proceedings of city councils, State Legislatures, and the national Congress are passed over.

At the annual dinner of the Boston Merchants' Association, on the 8th inst., there was present no less a personage than the Hon. T. M. Cooley, who, besides being a judge, a lawyer of eminence, and one of the profoundest political thinkers and writers in the United States, is a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission—a body which, perhaps, commands at this moment a more widely spread and practical interest than any other in the country. Passing by for the moment the substance of Judge Cooley's speech, I wish to point out how completely that, like a recent similar one of Mr. Charles Francis Adams of the Union Pacific Railroad, was fired in the air. They may excite sympathy and interest at the average breakfast-table, but everybody knows that their influence upon Congress, the only place where influence is of any use, will be absolutely nothing. Even if any measure could elbow its way through the crowd of pension, river-and-harbor, and private bills, that measure would be framed upon entirely different considerations, such as the lobby brings to bear upon committees. Let us suppose that a Secretary of the Interior, after full consultation with these and other gentlemen, and hearing all their views and plans, should himself bring into Congress a bill calculated to give the highest efficiency to the Inter-State Commerce Commission; that Senators and Representatives, duly prepared by their constituents, should discuss this bill in public session, and that the vast interests dependent upon railway management could be convinced that some serious and genuine effort was making to straighten out their complex affairs—what an interest and excitement would pervade the country! And this we could easily have if Congress could only be persuaded or compelled to give up its jealousy on behalf of the power of committees.

This view of things is greatly strengthened by the character of Judge Cooley's remarks, which were simply a defence of the law. It would have been useless to point out to a dinner company the defects of the law, as that would have only been fouling his own nest, without the slightest effect in getting the law amended. So he set himself to show that if the law did not work well, it was because railroad managers did not conform to it; that pooling, which the law prevents, is a very difficult process, at any rate; that too many railroads are built; and that something else needs reforming besides the law (which, by the way, is quite true). But what is the use of a law which depends for its success upon the coöperation of those against whom it is aimed—of a law against burglary and murder which relies upon the voluntary abstinence of thieves and murderers? I suppose the object of a law is to protect those who do wish to obey it against those who do not; and if it fails in that, it has no reason of existence. Of course, the guests at the dinner-table could not cross-examine Judge Cooley as to the provisions of the law; and if they had, he might have replied that he did not care to discuss them, as he was not responsible for them. What is wanted is somebody who *is* responsible for the law subjected to the public criticisms of those who are dissatisfied with it.

The argument is clinched by your article this week upon the annual report of the Commission. You show what a vast work in statistics and information has been done and is promised by the labors of such men as Messrs. McCain and Adams. But the only use of all this work is to get the law either justified or amended, or repealed and some substitute provided. Yet all the information in the world will not be of the slightest use unless there is some agency for carrying it into practical effect. At present the only agency available is one or more committees of Congress, and they are, for any good purpose, absolutely useless. The man who could procure and put into effective administration a law that would relieve the anarchy which threatens the great railroad interests of this country, would stand on a pinnacle with Lincoln and Grant. And there is a plenty of men of first-class ability who would devote their lives to the work for little or no pecuniary reward if they could see a chance of the prize. Many such a man would work himself to death for the chance of such a position in this country as Mr. Gladstone holds in Great Britain; and Mr. Gladstone won it by his management of the national finances.

Suppose there was such a man in this country, and he did such work. It would never come before the world as his; it would be that of a committee of which he was only one member, nor even that—it would be the work of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. If we expect to get first-class work from first-class men under such conditions as these, we are doomed to eternal disappointment. When any measure comes before a committee, every member asks himself what he is to get out of it, either in material advantage or reputation. This is perfectly natural, and we have no right to calculate upon anything else. But experience has long since demonstrated that nothing in either way is to be gained by devotion to the public interest; and so the member turns to a much more promising resource—the favor of his most influential constituents—in other words, of the lobby; while this, again, tends to fill the seats in Congress and the positions on committees with men who are much better fitted for the service of the lobby than for that of the public.

If we ever expect any good work upon the Inter-State Commerce or any other law, we have got to open some road for honorable individual ambition, and the only way to do this is to give the executive branch some public share in the guidance of legislation, and to

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make Cabinet places not merely the means of giving honor through office to small men, but of glorifying office by the presence and influence of great men. G. B.

BOSTON, January 19, 1889.

UNPROTECTED CLASSES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is a little odd that Pennsylvania, the stronghold of protection for manufacturers, should be the one great manufacturing State of the Union which leaves the women and children employed in manufacture absolutely without protection. Pennsylvania has neither factory inspectors nor truant officers. Its Bureau of Statistics of Labor has made no investigation of the labor of women and children. The city of Philadelphia has not even a census of its school-children, and the City Councils have refused to make one, though the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. McAllister, and the Board of Education insistently urge the need of an annual census. Mr. McAllister estimates the number of children for whom no schools are provided, at ten thousand.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children cannot enforce the meagre provisions hitherto enacted for the protection of working children, because its agents would be ejected for trespass if they should presume to enter the sacred precincts of manufacture upon notice which empowers them to enter a home at any hour of the day or night. The law provides that no child under twelve years of age shall be employed for wages at any occupation, and that none under thirteen shall be employed in any cotton, woollen, silk, paper, or bagging mill. In the absence of provision for the enforcement of these clauses, and of school registers, showing the actual age of children, the Philadelphia cash-boys and cash-girls are appallingly small, and the number of children admitted to the hospitals by reason of injuries received while at work is appallingly large.

While Commissioner of Labor Statistics of Connecticut, Prof. Hadley stated, as a result of one of his investigations, the proposition that long hours, monthly payments, and child labor go together. Here in Philadelphia certainly long hours, low wages, and child labor are inseparable. While New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, the neighbors bounding Pennsylvania on the north, east, and west, have all appointed factory inspectors, thus placing themselves in line with New England, Old England, and the more advanced nations of the Continent, Pennsylvania ranks with its southern neighbor, Maryland, and indeed with the whole South, in its callousness to the need of wages-earning women and children for protection.

Governments proverbially help those only who help themselves; and as the toiling children of Pennsylvania are incapable of helping themselves, the national Government helps their employers instead, while the State and municipal governments reinforce this help by declining to interfere on behalf of exploited childhood. The women of the State, however, can help themselves and the toiling children (though they are seriously hampered in their efforts by the lack of the ballot), and they are proceeding to do so effectively. Mrs. Leonora Barry agitates for the abolition of child labor. The Workingwomen's Society proposes work in two distinct directions. It will organize workingwomen after the manner of the eminently successful parent society in New York, and it will also undertake legislative work for instituting factory inspectors, truant officers, sanitary inspection, the abolition of child labor, and the shortening of the hours of labor for women and girls.

Will the protected manufacturers appeal for protection against the disenfranchised women of the commonwealth? F. K. W.

PHILADELPHIA, January 23, 1889.

RELIABLE ONCE MORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What with ignorance, prejudice, and other conservative agencies equally potent, if not respectable, vulgar errors, as we all know, proverbially take a great deal of killing. Of this truism, in the province of our vernacular philology, the still frequent onslaughts on *reliable* are noticeably exemplificative. In the United States, the word has repeatedly been reprobated; its reprobaters, only echoing, however, as if they conceived themselves to be quite secure in so doing, the censure of it persistently reiterated on this side of the Atlantic. Nor, other arguments apart, answerable for the disapproval of it which has here been expressed, is that to be ignored which is found in the recurrently fabled assignment of its birthplace. Again and again, on mere sinister conjecture, it has been spurned by Britons as an Americanism; and the conviction of its being one has, without doubt, in the minds of many, been accounted a sufficient reason for eschewing it and for counselling others to eschew it. Just so, to adduce a parallel instance, the verb *advocate* was formerly supposed to be of American origin, and was, accordingly, stigmatized as barbarous and intolerable. Even Southey, with all his multifarious reading, held it, on this ground, in patriotic contempt. Similarly misimpressed, as it seems, with regard to the nativity of *influential*, Coleridge, who once hazarded it, feeling that an adjective of *influence* was indispensable, went the length of contenting himself, thenceforward, with *influensive* and *influencive*, monstrosities which died at birth. And like-circumstanced with the objects of Southey's and Coleridge's aversion are many other vocables on which I might appositely descant. British Aristarchs no longer, however, deride *advocate* and *influential*, now that they have brought themselves to put up with *lengthy*, *loafer*, and *outsider*. By slow degrees, Englishmen are beginning to acknowledge, that, in the matter of enriching our language, a good thing may, by happy possibility, come out of our Nazareth.

A friend has called my attention to a recent issue of the *Saturday Review*, in which, under the heading of "Idiom-haters," occur the subjoined specimens of indisputably good sense:

"All students of English know the kind of critic who, with a little learning and a great amount of ignorance, from time to time endeavours to put a 'thus far and no further' to the growth of his mother-tongue. . . . To attempt, at any time, to set a final circumscription to the expansion of the empire of the English tongue, to say that you must not use this phrase, or that, unless it be found in some good writer of ten, twenty, or two hundred years ago, is to obey the silliest of all possible superstitions, and not the least mischievous."

Yet the person who can write thus is pleased to illustrate, not the unwisdom of others, but his own, by a tilt at *reliable*. To change the metaphor, weighed, by him, in an untried balance, the expression is pronounced to be "an indefensible solecism"; though, in the presence of facts, his "indefensible" should be altered to "harmless," and one must read, instead of his "solecism," "bugbear." Apparently authorized by the editor of the *Saturday Review*, he goes on to tell us of the measures which that journal has taken with intent to devitalize, or at least to sterilize, so far as it has the power, the odious pest which harrows so cruelly his capricious sensibility:

"It is not because good writers have not used *reliable*, but because the word is useless and superfluous, to begin with, bastard, in the second place, and nonsensical, in the third, that we, like all good writers, never use it, and give our printers orders to strike it out if any misguided contributor does use it."

The first objection here taken to *reliable* is, that it is "useless and superfluous." The answer to this is obvious. As well might it be contended that *rely* is "useless and superfluous," since we have its approximate synonyms *confide*, *depend*, and *trust*.

That it is "bastard" is the second objection urged for discarding *reliable*. Whether it is so, or not, is, however, open to doubt; inasmuch as it may, very possibly, still be traced to the French. But, even on the assumption that the last syllable of *rely* is *lie*, from the Anglo-Saxon, we have *eatable*, *drinkable*, and so on, matching *reliable* in its mainly essential characteristics. For the rest, our standard vocabulary teems with formations generically akin to it, as being hybrids.

But it is far from unlikely that I have mistaken the critic's "bastard." The epithet, as he boldly applies it, is of the vaguest. Taken figuratively, it imports, according to Dr. Murray's *Dictionary*, "illegitimate, unrecognized, unauthorized," and also "not genuine; counterfeit, spurious; debased, adulterated, corrupt." The critic, as we have seen, maintains, indeed, that, for us, the word lacks practical authority; but he leaves us quite in the dark as to whether, in branding it as "bastard," he intends "hybrid," "counterfeit," or what. Was he apprehensive that explicitness would be fatal to his contention?

By way of a third objection, *reliable* is ambiguously said to be "nonsensical." In favour of the objector, let it be presumed that his "nonsensical" stands for "void of signification," or the like; seeing that every one is perfectly clear as to what *reliable* denotes. He must, then, of necessity, allude to its relation to its verb; his position being that only a transitive *rely* would justify the adjective as now in vogue. Yet we have *accountable*, "capable of being accounted for," *disposable*, "free to be disposed of," and the still more anomalous *available*, in its latest sense, with *appealable*, *indispensable*, *irrecoverable*, as in "*irrecoverable* calamity," *unsearchable*, etc., etc. Analagous, too, is the *dependable* of Pope, the Rev. G. S. Faber, Sir J. F. W. Herschel, and the *National Review*, Vol. II., p. 864 (1885); and so, of course, is the *undependable* of the *Saturday Review*, Vol. IX., p. 303 (1860). *Laughable*, with Hallam's *demurrable*, as not being demonstrably based on a verb, one can well afford to discount. To this paragraph much might be added from *On English Adjectives in -able*, a monograph which I published in 1877.

Hitherto I have been commenting on mere random denunciation. But at last we come to something definite and satisfactorily tangible.

While it is indirectly admitted, in what has been quoted above, that good writers have, in the past, used *reliable*, it is there directly asserted that they "never use it"; the inevitable implication being, that they never use it at the present day. To this assertion I shall return. Meanwhile, it may be serviceable, in the interest of those to whom any fuller discussion of the term is unknown, to say something of its history, and to enumerate sundry authors, among the dead, who considered it as worthy of adoption.

So far as I am aware, *reliable*, as Miss Mabel

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Peacock pointed out in 1877, is first met with in a letter, bearing the date of 1624, from the pen of the Rev. Richard Mountagu, who eventually developed into a Laudian bishop. But the letter was not published till 1869; and Coleridge, when he originally ventured *reliable*, on the eighteenth of February, 1800, following it up with *reliability* and *unreliableness*, was, therefore, the author of a virtually new creation. From Coleridge, presumably, *reliable* was accepted, immediately or mediately, by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. J. S. Mill, Abp. Longley, Bp. Samuel Wilberforce, Dean Mansel, the Rev. Dr. J. W. Donaldson, the Rev. H. B. Wilson, the Rev. J. S. Brewer, Dr. W. G. Ward, Dr. W. B. Hodgson, Mr. Charles Dickens, Mr. Charles Reade, Mr. W. R. Greg, Mr. James Hinton, Mr. Walter Bagehot, Mr. J. C. Morison, Mr. Anthony Trollope, Mr. R. A. Proctor, and Miss Harriet Martineau, with many others, and, to pass to America, by Washington Irving, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and G. P. Marsh.

To come to the living, such, among them, as, with or without resipiscence, have admitted *reliable* to their pages, are, to name a few, Cardinal Newman, Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Somerset, the Rev. Dr. James Martineau, the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, the Rev. W. W. Shirley, the Rev. George Rawlinson, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Sir Monier Williams, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Henry Maudsley, Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, Mr. Henry Sweet, Mr. Robinson Ellis, Mr. Thomas Arnold, Col. George B. Malleson, Mr. J. W. Sherer, and Mr. Henry Morley.

Though this list be weeded ever so liberally, there will still remain a fair share of what any one whose judgment is worth listening to must allow to be "good writers." And who can know that these would no longer use *reliable*, or that they actually do not continue to use it? Is it not the case, then, that the latest impugner of the word grounds his ostracism of it on, for one thing, a pretension to a fulness of knowledge which nobody but a patient booked for a trip to Anticyra would, ordinarily, claim to possess? It may relevantly be noted, that, shortly before 1880, it was used by Mr. Sweet, Mr. Proctor, Sir Monier Williams, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Col. Malleson, and Mr. Morison; in 1880, by Mr. Ellis and Dr. Lee, in 1886, by Mr. Sherer, and, in 1887, by Mr. Sainsbury. And who does not every day come upon *reliable* in well-written contributions to the best English newspapers? At the lowest, as the expression was reputable, past contradiction, twenty or thirty years ago, and has by no means come to be peculiar to the unrefined, how can it have grown to be disreputable? Lord Macaulay generally has "to pore *on*" and "it *should* seem," and rarely the modern "to pore *over*," and, "it *would* seem"; but, if any one, in our day, elects to employ the older phrases, is he reasonably liable to severe reproach? At most, assuredly, he cannot be said to do worse than give a preference to archaisms.

Diagnosis has thus revealed that the criticule whose callowness I have scrutinized is simply suffering from acute whim, more or less bilious, complicated with defective information, not to speak of an asthenic condition of the logical faculty. To bear him out in his antipathy, almost equally little with the versifier about Dr. Fell does he produce anything that can, even by stretch of courtesy, be complimented as a reason. And now he may be released.

All along in the sixties, *reliable* was, practically, a special favorite with the *Saturday Review;* it showing itself there, during that decade, at least fifty times, as could be proved by references. In 1861 it was first animadverted on, in that journal, as being obnoxious; and, since then, it has been assailed, in its pages, over and over again, and sometimes with diverting irritability and rancour. Some two years since, the *Saturday Review* thought fit to rule that any user of it was "a donkey and a vulgarian." Much at one with this verdict, another London paper, nearly a generation ago, insisted that it was unendurable to any scholar or gentleman. And yet it may confidently be questioned whether a hundred repudiators of it could be mustered, if one were to poll all England. In conversation I have frequently heard it canvassed, and invariably with the result, that, in the end, it was agreed, on all hands, to be quite permissible.

It has not at all been my object to extol *reliable* as a thing of great price. After looking over what has here been set forth, the candid reader, who either has patronized it under protest, or has half-regretfully shrunk from patronizing it, will, however, it may be surmised, find his soul at rest, on discovering that his benevolence in its behalf has the warrant of multiplied precedents, unimpeachable in point of respectability. All things considered, it is not a whit worse than hundreds of current expressions which are occasionally challenged, but which, in the estimation of the most authoritative stylists, are, for literary purposes, flawless and immaculate.

Your obedient servant, F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, January 10, 1889.

CYCLIST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* for December 27, 1888, in reviewing Mr. Steven's journey 'Around the World on a Bicycle,' your reviewer uses two or three times the word *cyclist*. The use of this word in the *Nation* will probably be cited as a precedent for its substitution for the American word *cycler*. Neither of these words expresses the sex of the rider on a cycle, but no more does *swimmer*, for example, express the sex of one who swims. Nobody would think of speaking of a *swimmist*, a *boatist*, a *cricketist*. We are quite well aware that your reviewer has for authority the *Cyclist*, a trade journal of England, but the persons who bestowed this name upon the paper were a small local job printer and paper-hanger, and a country school teacher. When we consider that we have a good, euphonious, easily pronounced word, *cycler*, we see no reason why an almost unpronounceable and certainly pointless term should be borrowed by Americans simply because it is English. It is English, but English of the poorest sort.

Yours truly, J. and E. R. PENNELL.

LONDON, January 10, 1889.

[Why *cyclist* is a "pointless term," any more than *cycler*, we are unable to discover. We have no objections to the latter word if any one wishes to use it; but we stand by *cyclist* (κυκλίζω) on the analogy of *botanist* (βοτανίζω)—to seek no further. Patriotism has nothing to do with building words correctly from the Greek.—ED. NATION.]

THE ROYAL BERLIN LIBRARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A communication on the Royal Berlin Library having appeared in the *Nation* for December 20, 1888, perhaps you will allow one who really knows the Library to say a few words about it.

The Berlin Library is the largest of its kind in the world. The British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale contain more volumes, but are simply consulting libraries, the books not being allowed to leave the building. In Berlin, on the contrary, any person who is properly vouched for may draw three works—regardless of the number of volumes—at a time, and may keep them for a month. Manuscripts, however, must be consulted in the reading-room. This has been the rule ever since the fire in Mommsen's house, wherein many valuable codices were destroyed—codices which not even the large sum raised by Mommsen's admirers could replace to the Library.

Under the present Director, Wilmans, a number of reforms have been introduced which render the Library most accessible. The Catalogue, which has been preparing for years, has at last been thrown open; it occupies a whole room on the left of the entrance. The names and works of the authors are written in great folios—three or four volumes to every letter. The Catalogue is not as much used as those in our American libraries, for the reason that, if the title, author, date, and place of publication are known to the student, he may order a book without further ceremony. As all references in the academic lectures are provided with these data, much searching is spared the University men. The labor of the attendants is considerable, however, for they must in every case look up the shelf-marks of the books ordered.

A very great reform is that which makes it possible to order and receive books on the same day. Books ordered at nine are now delivered at eleven o'clock; those ordered at eleven may be called for at one. There is a third delivery for use in the reading-room at three P. M.

Besides the books that one takes home, one is permitted to collect and reserve quite a heap of books in the reading-room. On leaving, the student has the books stored away on a shelf under his initial; for a month he may have the exclusive use of his collection. The walls of the reading-room have lately been provided with shelves, and are stocked with thousands of volumes on all subjects. One can browse at will among these treasures, and can remove them to the tables without notice. Every one entering the room, however, must show what books he has with him; their titles are written down by a man at the door, and no one can leave with more books than he brought in.

On the whole, the greatest kindness and liberality is shown to students, and I cannot understand why your correspondent of December 20 chose the Royal Berlin Library as a butt for his raillery. ERNEST HENDERSON.

BERLIN, January 5, 1889.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am surprised that your correspondent "X.," writing in the *Nation* (No. 1225) of the Old Royal Library in Berlin, enthusiastic as he is in singing its praises, should omit to mention what seemed to me to be the most striking of the advantages which lift this favored institution above those of less civilized communities.

In the first place, he did not emphasize the extreme advantage of a little confusion and poor writing (printing, of course, being out of the question) in the folio Catalogue. By this means a principle of selection is set at work which in the end saves the books for those whose zeal and time are sufficient to put them to good use. Then the facts, with their great attendant advantages, were omitted, that ladies are not allowed in the reading-room (thus insuring quiet and good order in the place), and that the use of fiction is permitted only when the management is assured that it is to be used for

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scientific purposes. This rule is contained in the copy of the regulations for the use of the Library given to students of the University. Its advantages are obvious. In fact, viewing the many merits of this great institution, one can scarcely be grateful enough to Mr. "X." for bringing them to the notice of a too unappreciative world. R. M. B.

VIENNA, January 4, 1889.

A TYPICAL UNION-DEVOURER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The last number of the *Nation*, under the head of "The Union Saved—and Devoured," calls to my mind a case thoroughly illustrative of the length to which otherwise respectable men will stretch their consciences in their efforts to reach the surplus. We have in this city an ex-Governor of the State, living in a fifty-thousand-dollar residence built by and owned by himself—a hale and remarkably vigorous man, not over fifty-five years old, president of a bank with a capital stock of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, actively engaged in attending to his duties in the bank and in a savings bank or trust company in which he is interested. A conservative estimate of his assets would be from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand dollars, and yet this man makes application for a pension of thirty dollars a month.

His application recites that while a member of the ——th regiment of the Missouri State Militia, commanded by Col. ——, and in the line of duty at White River in the State of Arkansas, October, 1862, he was greatly exposed on the banks of the White River, and thus contracted rheumatism, which settled in his left knee; that he has several times been laid up on account of this disease for a week or more at a time; that he is now totally disabled from obtaining his subsistence by manual labor, by reason of his injuries above described. Accompanying this affidavit is another made by the colonel of his regiment, at present a District Judge of the Federal Court, verifying the facts set forth, "as the ex-Governor had employed no physician, but depended on home remedies."

Now, the ex-Governor has no intention of earning his living by manual labor. He is a first-rate bank officer and an intelligent gentleman, fully able to earn the large salary he receives. Why is it that a man in this position will stoop to be a beneficiary of a fund to which he is neither legally nor morally entitled, and of which he can only receive the benefit by a strained interpretation of the law and facts? W. J. S.

JANUARY 21, 1889.

Notes.

CUPPLES & HURD, Boston, will shortly begin to issue by subscription 'The Eggs of North American Birds,' by C. J. Maynard, with colored plates drawn on stone by the author. The same publishers have just issued a second edition of Bandelier's 'Archæological Reconnoissance into Mexico,' in response to a gratifying demand.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. announce for March 1 'Profit-Sharing between Employer and Employee: a Study in the Evolution of the Wages System,' by Nicholas P. Gilman, editor of the *Literary World*.

Bourrienne's 'Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte,' in four volumes, following the latest English edition, will be published soon by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Mr. Andrew Lang's 'Letters on Literature' to the *Independent* during the past year or two will be collected in a volume bearing the imprint of Longmans, Green & Co., who also announce 'Colloquies on Preaching,' particularly on the defects of the modern pulpit, by the Rev. H. Twells; and 'The Last Journal' of the late Lady Brassey, giving an account of the trip of the *Sunbeam* to India, Borneo, and Australia, elaborately and very diversely illustrated.

Chas. Scribner's Sons announce the late Lester Wallack's 'Memories of Fifty Years,' with an introduction by Laurence Hutton; 'Among the Cannibals,' of Northeastern Australia, namely, by Dr. Carl Lumholtz, of the University of Christiania, Norway; and a new edition of Col. Blunt's 'Firing Regulations for Small Arms.'

The seventeenth volume of Leslie Stephen's 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) nearly finishes the letter E. Chance supplies it with an extraordinary number of lives of sovereigns, the Edwards alone consuming nearly a quarter of its pages. Queen Elizabeth is disposed of in twenty-eight pages. Noticeable, too, are the extensive families of Eliot (in all manner of spellings), Ellis, Elphinstone, and Erskine. The literary flavor of former volumes is almost wholly wanting. Three names have a special connection with America—the Apostle Eliot, Gov. John Endecott, and Thomas Addis Emmet; but of this Irish refugee it is erroneously recorded that he lies buried in the churchyard of "St. Mark's" on Broadway in this city, where "St. Paul's" should be read.

All the changes indicated as having been made by Mr. Marcus B. Huish in his annual, 'The Year's Art,' for 1889 (London: J. S. Virtue & Co.) will commend themselves to the patrons of this most excellent record, which has just finished its tenth year. The geographical rearrangement seems sensible and an aid to ready reference. Portraits of the Associates of the Royal Academy are scattered through the volume, and form a very attractive group (photographic, by the way, engraved by process). Mr. G. H. Boughton's is the largest of these, and is given the place of honor at the front. The short section devoted to Art in the United States is a mere list of the principal art institutions, as to which fuller details have been given in the issue for 1886. The publishers will be glad to have any deficiencies in this list pointed out to them. The leading British exhibitions have select memoranda engraved on a diminutive scale from the pieces themselves (in most instances). In the same way we have samples of the publications of the Fine Art Society, of a dealer in engravings, and even of the illustrations in the *Art Journal* for 1888. The report of a committee of experts on the action of light on water-colors will be eagerly read and taken to heart. It is on the whole very encouraging.

Mr. E. Garnett's 'The Paradox Club' (Scribner & Welford) is one of those books which some people call dainty; that is, its paper is heavy, its page small, its margin wide, its type choice, its binding tastefully æsthetic. It is, in short, a pretty book, and the matter and style are pretty too. There are two lovers, whose love is of an old-fashioned kind, while their surroundings are quite modern. The Paradox Club, an eminently *Londonian* institution, talks about women, socialism, Zola, and a variety of the fashionable problems with no little heartiness, no little humbug, some wit, a good deal of tedium, and quite enough descriptive writing of a cross between those of the novelist just named and William Black. There is no harm in the book at all, nor is it goody-goody. It cannot show any very strong reason for its existence; as we judge from the dedication, its writing was the only way of giving utterance to emotions which those who felt them "could ne'er express, yet could not all conceal." It makes, however, pleasant reading for a lazy afternoon, and may set some to thinking.

'Arm-Chair Essays' (Scribner & Welford) is a series of not very deep outpourings by an accomplished Englishman, who has done a good deal of travelling and a good deal of reading, and has let his memory and experience dispense their treasures in a gentlemanlike and lively way. His experience makes much better material than his reading. The latter is anything but recondite, and, in the essay on Dining, shows itself peculiarly hackneyed, whereas the essay on the Pyrenees and their watering-places will be a real addition to the knowledge as well as the amusement of most readers. The paper on the "Ethics of a Postage Stamp" has some excellent rebuke to those who fancy that the mere fact of writing and sending a letter entitles one to an answer. There is a singular blunder in describing the purchase of Belgravia—an event referred to more than once. The author says Lord Grenville refused George the Third the money to protect his palace from being overlooked, by buying up a few fields. It was George Grenville, as may be seen from the second Essay on Chatham by Macaulay—an author whom the Arm-Chair essayist loves to quote. The mistake is equal to saying that John Quincy Adams appointed John Marshall.

The author of the article "Political Economy" in the last edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' Mr. John Kells Ingram, has reproduced his matter in the form of a separate volume entitled 'A History of Political Economy' (Macmillan & Co.). This is a history, not of the actual facts of economics, nor of economic measures, but of the best-known books that have expounded economic theories. Whether the author has constructed a history of the *science* of political economy admits of some doubt, for he seems hardly competent to grapple with the real difficulties of such a subject. We should say that he reflected very well the common judgment of the theories which he describes, but that he did little more. It is, of course, almost impossible, in a book of these dimensions, not to be dogmatic; but to assume, for example, that the vast development of trade and manufactures in Colbert's time was due to his policy of governmental regulation, is to beg a very important question. So, to lay it down that Ricardo led political economy "into the mistaken course of turning its back on observation, and seeking to evolve the laws of phenomena out of a few hasty generalizations by a play of logic," seems to be a mere outburst of the author's spleen against the orthodox school. Still, we must say that there is perhaps no sketch of the course of thought upon economic subjects that is at all to be compared with this, and as a bibliography of the leading works it is very satisfactory. We may add that two pages are all that are devoted to American economists, and that Henry George receives no mention.

D. Appleton & Co. send us a translation (English-made and printed) of Karl Marx's 'Capital,' by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. It makes an inordinately thick 8vo volume of more than 800 pages. As the nature of Marx's theory is well known, it does not call for further mention.

'The Alphabet of Economic Science,' by Philip H. Wicksteed (Macmillan), has nothing alphabetical about it except an abundance of algebraic symbols. It is really a mathematical

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treatise of the stiffest kind, and can be understood only by those who have mastered the theory of "functions." The basis of the book is Jevons's theory of political economy, and the author makes no claim of novelty for his opinions. He meets with much ingenuity the common objections to Jevons's theory, and we may say of him in general that he is not only enthusiastic but lucid. Still, the unsubstantial results of this theory will probably prevent it from ever being anything more than a mathematical exercise.

The Leonard Scott Publication Co. has removed from Philadelphia to New York, bringing with it its English periodical reprints and *Shakespeariana*, which will hereafter be conducted under the auspices of the New York Shakspere Society.

In our recent notice of the *American Journal of Mathematics*, we mentioned a paper which the *Journal* simply designates as "by William Woolsey Johnson." The elaborate work on the Differential Calculus, the joint production of Professors Rice and Johnson, to which we often refer, happened to be upon our table, and, after consulting its title-page, we spoke of him as "Professor of Mathematics in St. John's College, Md.," the position which he held when that work was published. We have since been reminded of the fact, which for the moment had slipped from our memory, that Professor Johnson's connection with St. John's College ceased in 1881, since which time he has been Professor of Mathematics in the Naval Academy.

The new year brings its customary crop of new periodicals, some of which we have already noticed. We are glad to receive the first number of the *National Geographic Magazine*, published by the National Geographic Society of Washington, an organization only a year old, of which Mr. George Kennan, No. 1318 Massachusetts Avenue, is the Corresponding Secretary. We have long been of the opinion that a live and learned geographical society worthy of the country could only be established in Washington, for very obvious reasons. The term "American" having been "preëmpted" by the well-known society in this city (of whose aims and collections one must speak with entire respect), "National" remained the only alternative designation. The number before us contains the introductory address of the President, Mr. Gardiner G. Hubbard; and papers on "Geographic Methods in Geologic Investigation," by Professor W. M. Davis, "The Classification of Geographic Forms by Genesis," by W. J. McGee, "The Great Storm of March 11-14, 1888"—our Eastern "blizzard"—by Gen. Greely and Professor Everett Hayden, accompanied by colored charts; "The Survey of the Coast," by Herbert G. Ogden, and "The Survey and Map of Massachusetts," by Henry Gannett. This is a very substantial beginning, but we will call the Society's attention to the need of a high degree of typographical accuracy in a publication of the kind they have undertaken. We ought not, for example, to read, as we do in Mr. Hubbard's address, that "the fecundity of fish is so great . . . that it may now be possible to feed the world from the ocean, and set the laws of *Matthews* [Malthus] at defiance."

Germania, a quarto fortnightly journal for the study of the German language and literature, comes to us from Manchester, N. H. The editor is A. W. Spanhoofd.

The Century Guild's *Hobby Horse* is new to our table, though the twelfth of the quarterly numbers is dated October, 1888. White & Allen, 32 Great Jones Street, are now the American agents of this handsome but singular periodical. The Century Guild of London "seeks to emphasize the Unity of Art" by "dignifying Art in all its forms," by rendering "all branches of Art the sphere no longer of the tradesman but of the artist." The *Hobby Horse* is its means of expression. The literary portion of the October number—a social essay, some poems, and a paper on certain obsolete musical instruments—is not of much consequence. The two illustrations are a drawing of "King Réné's Honeymoon," by Ford Madox Brown; and an unpublished woodcut, of admirable quality, of Frederick Sandys's design, "Danaë in the Brazen Chamber." These two prints, and the accompanying letter-press, are well worth the subscription price. Typographically the *Hobby Horse* is sumptuous.

New is the *Author*, "a monthly magazine for literary workers," just started in Boston, and a companion to the *Writer*. It is eclectic, and the scheme and utility of it are not yet quite apparent.

Miss Marie A. Brown's notorious contention that Columbus was a humbug, and that the Norsemen discovered America, is now to be reiterated in a *weekly* paper, *Leif Erikson*, published at Chicago. The "unmasking" of the Genoese navigator and the prevention of the Columbus celebration of 1892 are the avowed aims of this extraordinary venture in journalism. A fund for the "Leif Erikson cause," which includes sending Miss Brown to Iceland and Rome to search the archives, is solicited.

President Patton of Princeton College has chief editorial charge of the *Bulletin* just begun to be issued quarterly, under the auspices of the Faculty. It combines the functions of a college record and a learned review. The new Biological Laboratory is depicted on p. 14.

"The Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco" is the subject of the current issue of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. The author is Prof. Bernard Moses of the University of California.

The President of Michigan University remarks in his annual report that "a larger proportion of women than of men are taking by choice the full classical course," for the practical reason that there is a demand for their services in teaching Greek in preparatory schools.

The Bordin Prize "for perfecting the theory of the motion of a solid body" has just been awarded by the French Academy to Mme. Sophie Kovalewsky, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Stockholm. This is the first time that the Academy has given one of its mathematical prizes to a woman since the days of Mlle. Sophie Germain. It looks as if the name of Sophie had the power to confer peculiar wisdom upon its owner.

No. 22 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University is a Calendar of the Sparks MSS.

Bulletin No. 78 of the Boston Public Library begins a bibliography of the official publications of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, by Paul Leicester Ford—a task which was nominally anticipated by the perfunctory 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Publications of the United States, September 5, 1774—March 4, 1881' (Washington, 1885).

'A chapter from 'La Vie Mondaine de Mignet,' by Édouard Petit, exhibiting the relations of the French historian with the Princess Belgiojoso; is the most interesting feature of *Le Livre* for November, 1888. The December number opens with a rather fantastic article on "Le Livre Harmonieux," or the true proportions of the printed page, and is distinguished, in the way of illustrations, by an exquisite copy of a Levant binding in photogravure—the raised gold ornamentation even gaining a little by having the appearance of ivory. In the January number M. Octave Uzanne announces editorially the intention, of necessity, to make this periodical less inclusive, and henceforth to pay attention only to what emerges from the flood of current literature. At the same time some typographical changes in the direction of greater legibility still further diminish the capacity of *Le Livre* to cope with the fecundity of the press. It does not appear to us as to M. Uzanne that these changes enhance the beauty of the magazine.

The Proceedings of the Architectural League of New York 1881-1889 have just been published in good style, and will be found very interesting and profitable reading.

A meeting of persons interested in the variations of English as spoken in this country was held last week in Cambridge, and about thirty names were secured as the nucleus of a society for the investigation of American dialects of English. It is hoped that there are many persons in all parts of the country who will be glad to join in this undertaking. The details of organization have been referred to a committee. Professor E. S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass., may be addressed by any who are interested in the enterprise.

We regret to record the death at Wiesbaden, Germany, on January 24, of Mr. Bernhard Westermann, the senior and founder of the bookselling firm which bears his name. He was born at Leipsic seventy-five years ago, a brother of the well-known German publisher and of the philologist Anton Westermann. His book-importing house in New York was established in 1848, with the active coöperation of August Buechner, until his death (in 1881) Mr. Westermann's partner. After that time he withdrew gradually from the active pursuit of business, but continued as senior of the firm, the management falling to Mr. E. Lemcke, his partner since 1875, and Mr. Buechner's oldest son, Oscar, who entered the firm two years ago. Early in his American career Mr. Westermann became acquainted with most of the prominent men in literature and science. Joseph Henry, the Whitneys, Agassiz, Henry Barnard, and many others were patrons of his from the first. In many instances, the second generation of his first customers are now succeeding their fathers. Mr. Westermann leaves a widow, a son, and two married daughters.

—The February *Harper's* opens with another of those papers on out-of-the-way things and places in Paris which Theodore Child writes out of his abundant stores of knowledge and with so facile and engaging a style. This time it is the Hôtel Drouot to which he takes us, the great auction-room of Paris, where curios and rarities from the ends of the earth are brought to find their surest appreciation and best sale. The heavy artillery of the number is found in Dr. Waldstein's article on Ruskin. It is really a small treatise, filling thirty-six solid pages, or at least one-third of the entire letter-press of the number. We must think it rather lumbering, with all its preliminary squaring of elbows and extensive surveying of mankind from China to Peru; this seems certain to impair, for the average reader, the real force and just criticism of the article, which anticipates but a little what we presume will soon be the general verdict as to Ruskin—that he is a man with a divine gift of language, often divinely used, though his theories of art are as much askew as might be expected in a writer without the

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historic sense, while his political economy is near allied to madness. Dr. Waldstein's closing contrasting of Ruskin's literary life and manner with Darwin's is both happy and striking. Foreign description and travel are well represented in Verestchagin's "A Russian Village," the first of what is to be a series of papers on "Norway and its People" by Björnstjerne Björnson, and Henry Ballantine's article on Nepaul. Miss Woolson's serial distinctly gains in interest and promise, while the short story by Edward Bellamy is an ingenious attempt to do the impossible, and make a seamless garment out of patches of Rider Haggard, Swift, and Hawthorne; his art, however, is purposely subordinated to his psychology and his morals, and both these are excellent.

—Story-telling is at the fore in the February *Atlantic*. In addition to the serials of Prof. Hardy and Mr. James, Sarah Orne Jewett presents another of her miniature portraits of New England life (a rather broader dash of humor appearing in this one than in many from the same hand), and H. P. Robinson contributes a remarkable short story, "The Gift of Fernseed." The theme of the last-named writer is, as his title implies, in the cloudland of impossibilities, but he treats it with a tenacity of grip on matter-of-fact details and an apparent devotion to common sense which are worthy of Defoe. So fascinating is the continuation of Harriet W. Preston's studies in the life of Cicero—the title of the present instalment, "Under which King?" alluding to the necessity of a choice betwen his two friends, Cæsar and Pompey—that it, too, might be classed with the story-telling; though the labors which the historical delver has delighted in would be pain to most romancers. "Butterflies in Disguise" is a short but thorough paper on a branch of the subject of animal mimicry. Its closing sentence, "The more we contemplate so strange and perfect a provision," etc., reads just like a Bridgewater treatise, up to the point where it names natural selection in the place where one would look for some more theological term—a divergence which witnesses to familiar changes, while it is certainly justified by the entirely new understanding, since Darwin's day, of what was before a complete mystery. We can barely mention Agnes Repplier's "Plea for Humor," which so frequently exemplifies what it pleads for, Mr. H. C. Lea's specimen sufferer at the hands of the Inquisition, Brianda de Bardaxi, and C. W. Clark's "The Spirit of American Politics as Shown in the Late Election." The last subject could not be handled satisfactorily in the four pages allotted to it, and it is not. The number as a whole is in keeping with the *Atlantic's* best traditions.

—The current *Scribner's* has a table of contents both highly varied and interesting. The opening article is a good account of the literary methods of Sir Walter Scott, with several exhibits of proof-sheets in facsimile, showing both Sir Walter's corrections and the suggestions of his publisher. Austin Dobson has a paper on the Vauxhall Gardens of a century ago, in which art, archæology, and historic manners strive with each other for predominance of interest. "The Picturesque Quality of Holland" is the taking title of an article by George Hitchcock, pleasantly written and well illustrated. A chapter of art which is only beginning to be written, the painting of the Greeks, is alluded to by T. S. Perry in his remarks on the Græco-Egyptian portraits recently unearthed at Fayum; illustrations from photographs accompany the contribution. Dr. Sargent writes on the physical development of woman with an abundance of statistics and a vigor of inference which are enough to make all the corset-makers at once discontinue their advertisements in *Scribner's*. In another instance the publishers show a recklessness which no politician would ever be guilty of, and that is in printing the Irish story of Mr. Jessop, which gives the landlord's side of boycotting and agrarian outrage. Mr. Brander Matthews's "A Family Tree" laboriously gathers together the elements of a tragedy, only to make the thing miss fire at the end, the writer's good nature towards the reader leading him to bundle the Greek chorus unceremoniously out of doors just as it was preparing to sing of Nemesis. The "end paper" has all along been a sort of synonym for a sermon, so that its being turned over to a professional sermonizer, Bishop Potter, is but natural, and must be agreeable, also, to the readers of the magazine.

—Learned periodicals spring up so rapidly in Germany, and the number now in existence is so enormous, that a new venture in this line can hardly expect to be greeted as an event by anybody but the specialists to whom it immediately appeals; indeed, it is fortunate in these days if it attracts attention from them. But one enterprise of literary scholarship which has recently been launched in Germany has some special claims to general interest, and deserves more than a passing mention in these columns. We refer to the *Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, edited by Bernhard Seuffert, with the coöperation of Erich Schmidt and Bernhard Suphan. The new journal was begun in March last and has just completed its first volume. It is printed, and very handsomely printed, at Weimar, the publisher being Hermann Böhlau, already known for his connection with the new edition of Goethe. When this fact is noted in connection with the names of the editors, it is seen that the *Vierteljahrschrift* is an outgrowth of the Weimar renaissance which began in 1885. The brief prospectus issued by the editor a year ago was very attractive; it set forth that the most important feature of the new journal would consist of articles relating to modern German literature; that besides this it would offer comparative studies in modern literatures, and would endeavor to combine historical philology with æsthetic interpretation. Finally, it was to "serve the great ideals of literary history as conceived by Herder, Goethe, and Schiller," and supplement the *Beiträge* of Paul and Braune, as well as the *Archiv für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur*, both of which devote themselves mainly to the earlier stages of the language. It thus appears that this journal represents, to some degree, though in no belligerent spirit, the reaction that has lately begun to set in against the one-sidedness of German philological scholarship. In the main the editors have kept well the promise of their prospectus. Every number has contained interesting matter of high scientific value. The subjects treated cover the whole period from Luther to Heine. The last half of the eighteenth century receives, naturally enough, more attention than any other period of equal length, and Goethe, in spite of the *Jahrbuch*, more attention than any other author.

—The Patho-Biological Laboratory of the University of Nebraska, under the direction of Dr. Frank S. Billings, a veterinary surgeon of repute, has published its second report—a volume of more than 400 pages, octavo, with twelve plates. This is upon the Swine Plague, and as the capital invested in hogs in the United States is nearly $45,000,000, it represents a matter of much practical importance. The author believes the disease to be an infectious septicæmia, and to be propagated through excreta from sick animals developed outside of the body "in the earth and earthy materials," and not to be contagious in the sense that smallpox and scarlet fever in man and glanders and farcy in the horse are. He believes that the microbe upon which the disease depends has been discovered, and that security against it is to be found in the direction of preventive inoculation, but that successful inoculation without danger to other healthy animals has not yet been reached. Meantime, he advises as restrictive and hygienic measures the isolation of the well, and especially the avoidance of places infected by the immediate or former presence of diseased animals. Besides demonstrating what he believes is the swine-plague microbe, the author is concerned with overturning the work of Dr. Salmon, the Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry in the Department of Agriculture. A violent contention against him rages all through the report, showing itself in furious sentences, forests of exclamation points, and the confusion of construction and violence of expression that are the literary indications of scorn and anger. The assault also includes in its object the biological laboratories of the East, which are thus summed up: "They are nepotistic hot-houses!" It is a misfortune that what probably represents much industrious and intelligent observation is obscured and diluted by so many irrelevant pages; and the stock-raisers, in whose interest the work has been done, will have much difficulty in selecting their gold from the controversial dross. The University of Nebraska is amiable in its expenditures for printed paper.

SHERIDAN'S MEMOIRS.

Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan, General U. S. Army. C. L. Webster & Co. Two vols., 8vo, illustrated, pp. 500, 486.

As a book for general reading, Sheridan's Memoirs have attractive features that will insure success. The narrative is clear and lively, the events described are important in themselves, and the personality of the hero is always interesting. While none of the books of this class are likely to approach the extensive sale of Grant's Memoirs, on which they are evidently modelled, it is probable that Sheridan's will prove so popular as not to disappoint his hope that it would be to some extent a provision for his family after his death. For purposes of permanent history, one could wish that the aim had been less popular and more critical; but a long narrative by so distinguished an officer in a great war cannot lack value, even when the narrative is cursory and superficial. We cannot be in contact with the writer's mind through a thousand pages without learning more of him, his ways of thinking and acting, his prejudices, his likes and dislikes, than we could learn in any other way. The fact that so eminent a soldier could compose so long a memoir without anything approaching a critical or comprehensive judgment of a campaign, must be in itself a curious revelation of his military character. He sees clearly and vividly the thing immediately under his eye, he acts with great vigor his own part in the struggle, but he seems to have little disposition to frame an intellectual conception of the problem as a whole, and he acts upon his instinctive rather than his reflective judgment. The very intensity and vigor of his action seem to depend upon this, and he probably would not have been the thunderbolt of war he was if his mental habit had been one of greater and more conscious reflective analysis of military situations. The combinations of different intellectual quali-

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ties with masterful force of will in Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan make one of the most instructive of personal studies.

Sheridan's frank and unaffected story of his early life and education shows that he never took to study. Strong physical action seemed to be the necessity of his nature, and his class standing was below the average. It is plain from the Memoirs that he never found time for theoretic study, even of his military profession, after leaving West Point. The rough frontier life of a subaltern, whether on the Rio Grande in Texas or on the Willamette in Oregon, gave no opportunity for study of books, though it was full of physical training in self-reliance, in courage, and in prompt action in danger. His success as a soldier may fairly be taken to show that excellence in student life is by no means necessary to eminence in war. The very highest rank as a commander can only be reached by an extraordinary combination of mental and physical qualities; but eminence closely approaching the highest would seem to be within reach of men whose most marked traits are those of energy and ordinary good sense, backed by high courage and self-reliance.

Sheridan's military career divides itself into four parts: his service as a subordinate for six or seven years before the civil war, his career in the war, his politico-military service in Louisiana during reconstruction, and his observation of the Franco-Prussian War from the headquarters of the German King. The first of these is by no means the least valuable to history. The contact of our civilization with the aborigines has not been too well illustrated. Army officers were almost the only educated men who had much opportunity of studying it, and whenever they have left records of their experiences, these are full of instruction. McCall's letters from Florida during the Seminole War, Marcy's adventures west of the Mississippi, and some others, give us invaluable material for the study of phases of American history now for ever vanished. Sheridan's chapters of his own experience from 1854 to 1861 will seem to many a student of history more valuable than his story of his Shenandoah campaign. The latter could be reconstructed from official reports and from unnumbered public and private sources; the former is so utterly gone that every page which throws light on the gradual extermination of the red man is a grateful and unexpected addition to the world's historical knowledge.

The episode of Sheridan's service in reconstruction in Louisiana contains new matter also. He claims to have been the real cause of the downfall of Maximilian in Mexico by forcing the hand of our national Administration. He asserts that upon his own motion, and contrary to his instructions from Washington, he made demonstrations of hostility against Maximilian and of support for Juarez, which were decisive in turning the scale against the Austrian aspirant to empire. From his own point of view, no doubt this seemed so to him; but a broader consideration of the effect of Mr. Seward's diplomacy, first upon France in determining Louis Napoleon's recall of Bazaine's army, and afterwards upon Maximilian by the indication of a purpose to favor the Republicans of Mexico, will probably show that Sheridan attributes too great effect to his frankly confessed insubordination. Military demonstrations of a comparatively small kind along the Rio Grande would not have created great terror if the astute statesman in charge of our foreign diplomacy had not held threateningly over the scale the whole weight of our restored national power.

In the Louisiana business Sheridan attributes his bad relations with President Johnson to a personal dislike of the latter towards him. It is more simple and natural to find it in the fact that Congress was making use of Grant and his military subordinates to thwart Johnson in his policy, and to impose that of the Republican leaders upon the South. No matter which was right, the result could not fail to be a most uncomfortable one when the Commander-In-Chief found his subordinates obeying other orders than his. The rapid change of Sheridan's own ideas at that time is shown by his proclamation that he would give the opportunity to vote to all whom the Attorney-General might declare entitled, and his unexplained refusal to do so when Mr. Stanbery declared that the bulk of the white citizens had the right under the law. His original judgment of the knavery of men of the Madison Wells class is reaffirmed in the Memoirs, as is his opinion that the reassembling of the members of the Constitutional Convention was illegal and revolutionary, though it could not justify the horrible street massacre which followed.

Gen. Sheridan's story of his observations of the campaigns of Gravelotte and Sedan from King William's headquarters does not lack in vivacity nor in telling points of personal and local description. Bismarck's strong personality comes out in a picturesque way, and the portraiture is, on the whole, that of a more genial and approachable man than the great Chancellor is commonly credited with being. The scene when Louis Napoleon came out of Sedan to yield himself a prisoner is a very vivid one, especially the startled change in the French Emperor's countenance when Bismarck gave a brusque military salute, without uncovering, standing in the road at the carriage-step. The reader must feel, however, that the attractiveness of a personal diary hardly atones for the absence of instructive criticism of the organization and quality of the rival armies and their leaders, and of the strategy and tactics of the great campaigns. We had a right to expect that a general so near the head of the American Army would write with his young subordinates in mind, and make his book permanently useful to them by a full garnering of the fruits of his ripened experience as a strategist and a soldier.

The same criticism must apply to that which was, of course, the chief purpose of the book, viz., the personal narrative of his career in the great civil war. Like Grant's, it seems to be based upon Badeau, or at least to accept Badeau's 'Military History' as a sufficient authority for the current of events. This is most noticeable, of course, in the campaigns of 1864–65, when Sheridan's relations to Grant were closest. A really exhaustive reëxamination of original material was hardly to be expected, but the evidences of the danger of trusting too implicitly to memory are not hard to find. In controverted matters, personal memoirs are necessarily apologetic, and we cannot complain if they set out the view most favorable to the writer; yet we could wish that such thoroughness of review might be used as to show that conclusions are at least freshly tested, and are not the repetition of habitual assertions which have been sharply challenged by other actors and other investigators.

In reference to some mooted points of discussion relating to the Army of the Potomac, we get additional light. Sheridan tells us that his first interview with Meade was an irritating one, in which a sharp antagonism was developed. We are left to infer that the men were antipathetic, and that Sheridan's opinion of the military judgment and ability of Meade was not high. Nothing in the later part of the Memoirs is inconsistent with this. Nothing indicates that the relations grew any pleasanter. On the contrary, the chafing seems to have continued, and to have been quite as great, if not greater, during the very last movements of the pursuit of Lee's army to Appomattox.

As to the "Trevillian raid," on which Sheridan was sent immediately after the terrible battle of Cold Harbor, he does not correct the sins of omission and commission found in the narratives of Badeau and of Grant. It is assumed that the failure to coöperate with Gen. Hunter in the valley of Virginia was Hunter's fault, when, if history can prove anything, it is proved that Hunter's part of that campaign was well and ably carried out. He was not and could not be informed of new orders which Sheridan was carrying to him, because the latter never reached or came into communication with him. Sheridan was ordered to proceed first to Charlottesville. He was stopped thirty miles short of Charlottesville by the Confederate cavalry at Trevillian, and had been outmarched, not only by Hampton's horse, but by Early's and Breckinridge's infantry. This unique experience of his shows that he could not have had that confidence in results which inspires energy. The enemy were thus enabled to oppose Hunter at Lynchburg with infantry which left Cold Harbor after Sheridan's cavalry started, and Hunter was forced over the mountains to the Ohio without any fault of his own. There was a superabundance of glory in Sheridan's later career, so that he might well have afforded to accept the responsibility for this, instead of following Badeau in the claim that his own part of the combined movement was perfectly performed and the fault was Hunter's. Any careful comparison of dates and movements must reverse this judgment.

On the controversy over his relieving Gen. Warren from command of the Fifth Corps, Sheridan says but little, except to emphasize his right to enforce promptness by the most strenuous means. He says, however, that early in the day of his engagement at Five Forks, when he was urging Warren to haste by saying that delay was giving Lee time to make combinations to thwart them, Warren replied with indifference that "Bobby Lee was always getting people into trouble." This has a certain resemblance to the saying which Grant quotes as being, at an earlier time in the campaign, current in the Army of the Potomac relating to himself, namely: "He hasn't met Bobby Lee yet." How far a settled conviction of Lee's superiority over their own leaders had permeated that army is a troublesome and vexed question of fact. It may fairly be admitted that if it had gone so far as to be an important factor in the *morale* of the army, Grant would have been quite justified in a sweeping reorganization or even an exchange of troops with other armies. It is difficult after so long a time to be quite sure, and even the survivors of the Potomac Army may reasonably have doubts as to a sentiment for which memory alone must be the authority. Yet there is an issue between both Grant and Sheridan and that army as to this sentiment and its effect, and our judgment of the campaign of 1864-65 in Virginia cannot be finally made up till it is settled.

The points above touched upon are those in which Sheridan's Memoirs are open to more or less criticism. There remains, however, a splendid record which makes a few blemishes only seem a foil for a brilliant career. The striking feature of his life is the steady growth from moderate talents and modest doubt of his own capacity, to a series of striking and im-

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portant successes which showed that a very high order of military ability had been developed. Step by step he had learned to have confidence in his own judgment and to trust the inspiration of his own courage. The campaign of the Shenandoah may be said to have revealed him to himself as well as to the country. The battles and marches from Five Forks to Sailor's Creek and Appomattox were the culmination of his peculiar powers and of his fame. Nothing that he tells us of himself can lack value; it is only for us to use it discriminatingly, and to build up a true notion of the man, not as a superhuman hero, but a very human, passionate, energetic, patriotic soldier.

FRANKLIN AND THE TREATY OF PEACE.

Franklin in France. From original documents, most of which are now published for the first time. By Edward E. Hale and Edward E. Hale, jr. Part II. The Treaty of Peace and Franklin's Life till his Return. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1888. Pp. xiv., 470.

THE papers and letters comprised in this second and concluding part of the Messrs. Hale's collection cover the period from 1781 to 1785, with a few supplementary chapters devoted to the five remaining years of Franklin's life after his return to this country. Their interest is even greater than that of those contained in the first part of the work. From one point of view, indeed, this accession of riches must be regarded as an embarrassment, since, preëminent as must ever be the significance of the diplomatic history here outlined, the attention is nevertheless to some extent divided and dissipated by the commanding interest of Franklin's brilliant career in France as a man of letters, a man of society, and a savant, on which these pages throw so abundant light.

As a diplomatic episode in our history, the signal importance and far-reaching significance of the measures here described can, no doubt, be far better appreciated to-day than by the men who were nearest to the event. And for this there are several good reasons. One of these is to be found in the unsettled and distracted condition of affairs on this side of the Atlantic. At the moment of concluding the treaty of peace, and indeed for not a few weary years afterward, this country was passing through what was preëminently its "critical period," to use the fitting phrase of a recent writer. Whether it would outlast the decade seemed problematical. Whether the "rope of sand" could hold together the discordant league of States long enough to admit of carrying on a general government, even should the European Powers decide to recognize that government, was to many men's minds the dominant question. Small wonder is it that, in the face of exigent situations like these, the magnitude of the results accomplished for us at Paris should have in some measure failed of recognition. To an American citizen, the ever-present topics of reflection were found in a Congress not commanding popular respect throughout the country, nor even sufficient interest among its members to secure a decent attendance; a central authority which was almost a negative quantity; and a financial situation perilously near complete ruin. On the external phase of this financial situation, indeed, the volume before us furnishes eloquent testimony, not only in successive letters of Franklin to Morris and others in this country in 1782, but in his letter of an earlier date to John Adams in Holland. In characteristic language he writes: "My faith is only that of which the Apostle speaks, the evidence of things not seen. For in truth I do not see at present how so many bills drawn at random on our ministers in France, Spain, and Holland, are to be paid." And he adds: "If you should not in the meantime be provided, and if these endeavors fail, I shall be ready to break, run away, or go to prison with you, as it shall please God." By the side of this may be put the words of Washington, a few years later—words whose bitterness is emphasized by his almost habitual reserve of language: "Do not let us sink into the lowest state of humiliation and contempt, and become a by-word in all the earth."

Another and perhaps still more potent reason why, to the men of that day—even the more thoughtful among them—the efforts of Franklin and others at European courts were not seen in their due proportions, is to be found in the fact that they seemed to strive with too little unity of purpose. To the lover of his country it was only an additional weariness to the flesh that most of the able men of America had crossed the Atlantic only to pull apart, instead of pulling together. The list is a strikingly distinguished one: John Adams, Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, Henry Laurens, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin. Yet how much of the record of the relations of these men with each other is a story of personal malignity and ambition, of efforts at thwarting the influence of a colleague, and of vehement recklessness of speech or manner, well calculated to bring their common efforts to naught! Perhaps no man possessing abilities of the first order was ever more free than Franklin from the pettiness of vision and inability to see from the point of view of another, which have been too commonly found united to preëminent talents, and which were conspicuously illustrated in all of Franklin's colleagues except John Jay. Franklin's philosophical mind, his unrestricted outlook upon the world, his habitual serenity of temper, his constant subordination of the ideal which he personally held important, but saw to be impracticable, to the large interests of the greater number—all these were likely to preserve him from errors like the above. To these, moreover, should be added his really phenomenal tact, which seems to have made a strong impression even on those opposed to him, if we may judge from the humorous *Edinburgh Reviewer* who regretfully characterizes Oswald as not "fit to cope with a consummate philanthropist like Franklin"!

It is, therefore, a veritable curiosity of history that, in relation to that one of the links in the chain of events leading to the treaty of peace, which, as it proved, was the decisive one—the Vaughan commission—it was so eminently reasonable a man as Franklin who was unalterably opposed to the measure, and without whose consent the conclusive step was taken by Jay. It was, however, a situation in which much was to be said on both sides; and, looking at the matter from the point of view of both Franklin and Jay, as our authors say, "it is impossible not to admire the firmness of" them both. By any natural and obvious view, it was the business of these diplomatic agents of the infant republic to treat with one nation at a time; and but for the signal ability of Vergennes, who, as our authors well say, "had not, at this time, nor had he ever had, any sentimental ideas concerning America," and who had succeeded in a measure in shaping affairs to the single end of advancing French interests, the duties of the American agents would have been to this extent simplified. Article 8 of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States in 1778 had contained two provisions which stood in the way of unrestricted action, namely, that "neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained"; and that "they mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States" shall be formally recognized. In Jay's view, the perfect understanding and unity of action which this language contemplated had already in 1782 been infringed on, and that by the act of Vergennes. This Minister was now not only urging on the English and American negotiators the acceptance of the Oswald commission, from which the above specific acknowledgment of independence was absent, but was, through secret emissaries, intriguing with Great Britain for the annulling of American interests in the Mississippi Valley and in the matter of the fisheries. Believing, as was indeed the case, that this was the critical moment of the negotiations, Jay despatched to Lord Shelburne's government one Benjamin Vaughan, then in Paris, as confidential agent, with a definite message. This extreme measure—for such it was, and as such Franklin refused it his approval—was meant to counteract both of the ends which Vergennes was intriguing for, and it did not prove ineffectual. We may not perhaps characterize it, as Mr. Hale does, as "a bold, ill-advised, and perfectly successful stroke"; but, on the authority of Townshend, "it was at once agreed [by the Cabinet meeting] to make the alterations in the commission proposed by Mr. Jay." The "alterations" referred to involved, as it proved, the proceeding on the part of the English and American negotiators to terms of treating without the formality of securing the consent of France. Barely two months elapsed before the signing of the "provisional articles" of November 30, 1782, and September of the following year brought the "Definitive Treaty of Peace."

The accomplished President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Langley, in his inaugural address in August last, in some very forcibly presented suggestions, casts doubt on that theory of the progress of science which compares it to the advance of an "army which obeys an impulse from one head." In his view, the far more accurate analogy is that of "a pack of hounds which, in the long run, perhaps catches its game," but individuals of which "bring many to follow them, nearly as often in a wrong path as in a right one," and "the entire pack even has been known to move off bodily on a false scent." Who shall say that the analogy is not equally appropriate in any scientific view of history, or even that it has not some direct bearing on the episode we are now considering? Certainly, if Jay's mission through Vaughan in September, 1782, had proved anything other than the success it was, we should not only have heard nothing of the "provisional articles" and the "definitive treaty," but in all probability Vergennes's disposition to countenance American interests, already strained to a dangerous degree, would have been exchanged for uncompromising hostility. Could we read Franklin's remonstrances at the time, the case would not lack for forcible arguments.

An undue stress has at times been placed on the personal merits and talents (or lack of them) of the individual, Vaughan, who became in Jay's hands the agent of producing the English Minister's change of base. Mr. Bancroft writes him down as "an inferior and casual agent"; Mr. Jay introduces foot-notes, even in his recent chapter on the treaty, to corroborate his view of him as exceptionally fitted "for the delicate task"; while Mr. Hale regards him as "a well-meaning man of very great vanity." Though

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somewhat various, these judgments are by no means wholly inconsistent with each other, nor is it, in any event, of exceptional importance that Vaughan be proved this or that. The one significant fact is that Jay's case was urgent, he had little time for choosing men, and he needed at once an agent to pass between him and Shelburne. Since Vaughan was apparently the only one available, it is scarcely decisive of Jay's superior judgment, or the reverse, that he made use of this man.

To a scholar of scientific tastes like Franklin no other portion of the civilized world could have had more attractions than France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. A mere enumeration of the directions in which scientific investigations are incidentally referred to in the volume before us as in progress, would be exceedingly suggestive. It would include, among many others, the subjects of lightning-rods, phosphoric matches, the weight of the atmosphere, ballooning, animal magnetism, and various applications of electricity; but quite as fascinatingly attractive to a mind like his was the ferment at that time going on in France which manifested itself in a universal discussion of political theories. Between the date of Franklin's departure from French soil in 1785, and the storming of the Bastile, only four years elapsed, and the ideas of the Revolution were even then in the air. Mr. Hale, in some very just remarks on this subject, cites the recent noteworthy work of the English historian, Stephens (his type-setter both times making this name "Stevens"), to the effect that "the influence of the American Republic is hardly to be seen at all among the [French] republican leaders of the revolutionary period." In his acute analysis of Franklin's character and influence, Sainte-Beuve approaches the same subject with a species of wondering hesitation. After declaring that "Franklin possessed influence among us," he adds that "when, towards the end of his life, he learned the first events of July, 1789, he conceived as much mistrust and doubt as hope respecting them." To Franklin, as to so many others, the French revolution was a surprise and its true significance dimly understood. His own great services to mankind, along the lines of political development, we must regard as almost wholly rendered in connection with the English-speaking race.

Life of Lamartine. By Lady Margaret Domville. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888. Pp. 398.

THE reading public have of late been offered so many so-called biographies which are in reality little more than political histories, that it is with great pleasure that we call attention, in the 'Life of Lamartine' by Lady Margaret Domville, to a work which is a biography in the true sense of the word, *i. e.*, a history of a human life. The birth, the peculiarities of family environment and early surroundings, the struggles against lack of appreciation, the thoughts, and the final triumphs of one who may truly be called a genius, are given in this book with such fulness that the reader feels, on throwing it aside, that he has made the acquaintance of a living man. Every page evinces a comprehension of the character described, every chapter marks a step in the formation of a great spirit. But at the same time Lady Domville does not burden her narrative with unnecessary details regarding Lamartine's domestic life. All that are given seem to be necessary to explain his political attitude; all lead up to that terrible 24th of February when he stood upon the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, and, relying alone upon his matchless eloquence, faced and conquered the wildest of European mobs.

Lamartine was, during the greater part of his life, what his biographer justly calls a political "free lance"—what in the United States, sometimes with approval, sometimes with contempt, we term a "Mugwump." Prevented by family influences from offering his services to the great Napoleon, he was too much a believer in constitutional government to sympathize altogether with the views of the Legitimists. His political aspirations had therefore to content themselves with criticism, and the critical attitude which he was thus early compelled to assume he seems never altogether to have abandoned. On this account the task of his biographer in describing his political career is in a measure a thankless one. Never prominently connected with any government until 1848, his influence could only be an indirect one, except when it appeared to be absolutely revolutionary. Never quite in sympathy with any of the political parties in the Legislature of which he was for so long time a member, his career as a politician could hardly be a "practical" success. He could do little but win from his fellow-members a reputation for eloquence at a time when eloquence was especially characteristic of French public men. Notwithstanding these disadvantages which Lady Domville labors under, she is still able, by dwelling on Lamartine's conscientiousness and on his real political sagacity, to leave upon her readers a most pleasing impression of a career which, after all, was singularly barren of direct results.

Only once does Lamartine give his biographer an opportunity of arousing enthusiasm for his public actions, for only once did he rise above the level of criticism to the formulation of definite political principles. This was in the last days of the July monarchy, with whose policy he became more and more dissatisfied. The regimen of Louis Philippe was in his opinion political stagnation; and the 'History of the Girondists,' which he published at this time, contributed largely to its destruction. Lamartine carefully refrained from joining in the agitations which directly occasioned the Revolution of 1848, but when it came he did not shrink from assuming the share of responsibility which he seems to have recognized was his. Not only was he able to control for a time the spirit which he had raised, but his courage was so heroic, his influence so extraordinary, as to focus upon him the attention and admiration of the civilized world. The chapters devoted to this part of his public career are the finest in the work before us, and read like a romance. As everything that has gone before leads up to them, all that follows gradually sinks away to Lamartine's quiet death in the peaceful hills of his native place. The few months during which Lamartine directed the republic, saved France from anarchy, and Europe perhaps from a great war, were the most important in his life. To perform adequately the duties roughly and unexpectedly thrust upon him, long years of preparation were necessary, and above all it was necessary that there should exist in the people a perfect belief in the sincerity of the man who attempted to control them. As Lamartine afterwards said, with that belief in the goodness of the people so characteristic of him, "The first, almost the only, quality which it [the mob] demands from you is sincerity." That Lamartine was sincere his whole political career had gone to prove. Lady Domville shows us most clearly that, whatever may have been his defects as a practical statesman, his sincerity was beyond question, and to this may be attributed his most remarkable triumphs in the early months of 1848.

Lamartine was a poet in politics. His love for the people, his belief in the purity of their purposes, caused him to exercise the power he briefly possessed with too little force to command respect; and the Government which he helped to form owed its short lease of life, in part at any rate, to this quality in its principal founder. It is therefore quite in order for Lady Domville to intersperse her narrative of Lamartine's life with selections, analyses, and criticisms of his poems, which are for the most part treated in the chronological order of their production. It is to her credit that she has recognized his limitations and defects. She has not tried to make of him a great statesman: she has succeeded in demonstrating the nobility of his character. She has also an appreciative and generally accurate knowledge of French habits. Especially pleasing is the opening chapter, descriptive of French home life in the rural districts. Lady Domville seems to have imbibed some of the spirit of Lamartine's own pastoral poems. In her description of public life and of French institutions, however, she reveals at times a lack of exact information. Thus in one case she refers to the French *Conseil Général du Département* as similar to the English Grand Jury. Had she compared it with the County Quarter Sessions of the Peace before the late Local Government Act, she would have been more nearly correct. Again, she speaks of the Mayor of Paris when she means either the Prefect of Police or the Prefect of the Seine. But outside of these minor inaccuracies, of which there are but few, her book gives, in addition to the life of Lamartine, a very good picture of French political conditions during the fifty years succeeding the Revolution.

The Popes and the Hohenstaufen. By Ugo Balzani.—*The English Church in the Middle Ages.* By William Hunt. [Epochs of Church History. Edited by Professor Mandell Creighton.] A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

THE making of "Epoch books" has in these days become an especial department of historical composition. The ideal of such a task should be to bring before the reader's mind with absolute clearness the great moving forces and the leading personalities of the given period, especially to exhibit the development of institutions—in a word, to show why the period in hand is an "epoch." Yet the number of these books which come within hail of this ideal is very small indeed. Most of them err in the direction of too much narration of events. The desire to tell the whole story runs away with the writer, and, before he is aware of it, his space is full, and he has put together a more or less readable mass of events over which the ordinary reader glides with a certain sense of "getting information," but without any real grasp of the peculiar character of the special period treated.

The two books before us do not form any exception to this rule. Mr. Ugo Balzani is the prospective author of a great work on the Popes and the Hohenstaufen, of which the present little volume is an earnest. He professes to write from original sources, but tells us nothing as to what these sources are. He acknowledges his obligations to preceding writers on his subject, but gives no reference to these writers by which the student might be guided into further study. He deals with events which carry the reader over enormous stretches of country, but he does not help him along by any maps whatever. The narrative runs along

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with monotonous smoothness, so that one gets very little idea of what points in detail are important and what are not. For example, in describing the magnificent struggle of the Lombard cities against the imperial prerogative, the author loses a brilliant opportunity to sketch the new and wonderful life of these trading and manufacturing communities.

The "epoch" treated in the second book is a period of nearly eight hundred years, the history of the English church from Augustine to Wiclif. The very extent of this period prevents the error of too much narration, for any pretence at a complete narrative would have been absurd. The book may be regarded as the defence of a thesis, namely, that the English Church was a national institution from the beginning. It consists mainly of illustrations of effort on the part of patriotic Englishmen to prevent the entire control of the English Church by the Papacy. Like the numerous other efforts in the same direction, however, it suggests more than it means to do—that, as a matter of fact, England was pretty much under the control of the Papacy during a very large part of its existence. If one should select from Mr. Hunt's book—to go no further—the statements as to the extent of foreign influence in the English Church at various times, one would be pretty well supplied with arguments for the Roman position. This volume, like the other, has no references to authorities, either contemporary or modern, and no maps. Both have very complete indexes.

A Thousand Miles Up the Nile. By Amelia B. Edwards. With upwards of seventy illustrations after drawings executed on the spot by the author. Second edition, revised. Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1889. Pp. xxvii., 449. 8vo.

It would be difficult for one who wished to spend a winter on the Nile intelligently and profitably to find a more excellent companion and guide than this account by Miss Edwards of her journey made in 1874 and first published in 1877. In some respects, this second and cheaper edition is preferable to the original, as it is easier to handle, being smaller; and, while the narrative remains untouched, the parts relating to the ancient history of the country and the interpretation of the inscriptions have been revised and corrected so as to conform to the latest conclusions of the Egyptologists. The illustrations, also, which are admirable specimens of wood-engraving, are nearly as good in this as in the first edition, though printed on inferior paper. We regret, however, the omission of the maps, while the absence of an index in a work of this character is both irritating and inexplicable.

Miss Edwards was well qualified for her task by an early enthusiasm for and considerable knowledge of Egyptian art and history. She spent nearly six months on the river, going as far south as Wady Halfeh, and making a careful study of some of the most interesting ruins, and, after her return, gave two years' labor to writing her narrative. While especially interested in attempting to discover traces of the ancient life, she takes careful note of the varied scenes which meet the eye of the traveller at every bend of the river. The little events of the daily routine; the vivacious crew of the dahabeeyha; the picturesque groups of fellahin with their spurious "anteekahs"; the villages with their fields of waving grain; the creaking water-wheels; the limitless desert, with its wonderful and ever-changing color; above all, the silent and majestic ruins—all are described in such an effective manner as to bring them vividly to the reader's mind. Mingled with these word-pictures are chapters which only the Egyptologist can intelligently read, such as that on the history of Rameses the Great, and the one relating to the paintings in the rock-cut chamber at Abu Simbel discovered by Mr. Andrew McCallum. It should be said in closing that Miss Edwards carefully abstains from touching upon recent Egyptian history and politics.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Airy, O. The English Restoration and Louis XIV. Chas. Scribner's Sons. $1.
Baylor, Frances C. A Shocking Example, and Other Stories. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Book-Notes: Vol. V. Providence: Sidney S. Rider.
Bryans—Hendy. Mommsen's History of Rome. Abridged. Chas. Scribner's Sons. $1.75.
Bruchtmann, K. Psychologische Studien zur Sprachgeschichte. Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.
Byerly, Prof. W. E. Elements of the Integral Calculus. 2d ed. Boston: Ginn & Co. $2.15.
Cooke, Rose Terry. Steadfast: The Story of a Saint and a Sinner. Boston: Ticknor & Co.
Cram's Standard American Atlas of the World. George F. Cram.
Crosby, Rev. H. The Bible View of the Jewish Church. Funk & Wagnalls. $1.
Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. XXIV. Ura—Zym. 9th ed. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
Fenn, G. M. Commodore Junk. Cassell & Co. 50 cents.
Fredericq, P. Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Hæreticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicæ. Eerste Deel (1025—1520). Ghent: J. Vuylsteke.
Gill, J. A System of Education: A History and Criticism. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.10.
Gray, David Letters, Poems, and Selected Prose Writings. 2 vols. Buffalo: The Courier Co.
Hamerton, P. G. Portfolio Papers. Boston: Roberts Bros. $2.
Harcourt, Helen. Home Life in Florida. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co.
Harte, B. Cressy: Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Hassall, A. Life of Viscount Bolingbroke. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 75 cents.
Helps, A. The Story of Realmah. Boston: Roberts Bros. 75 cents.
Huish, M. B. The Year's Art. 1889. Illustrated. London: J. S. Virtue & Co.
In Palace and Faubourg: A Story of the French Revolution. By C. J. G. Thomas Nelson & Sons.
Jordan, D. S. A Manual of Vertebrate Animals of the United States, inclusive of Marine Species. 5th ed. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $2.50.
James, F. L. The Unknown Horn of Africa. London: George Philip & Son.
Johnson, Evelyn Kimball. An Errand Girl: A Romance of New York Life. G. W. Dillingham.
Kirkland, Miss E. S. What Shall I Write About? One Thousand Composition Subjects. Chicago: Fergus Printing Co.
Lamartine, A. de. La Bataille de Trafalgar. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
Lampman, A. Among the Millet, and Other Poems. Ottawa: J. Durie & Son.
Lockhart, J. G. Ancient Spanish Ballads. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Lunt, H. Across Lots. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Macdowall, M. W. Tempted of the Devil: A Story Retold from the German of August Becker. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. $1.50.
Maine, H. S. International Law: A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge, 1887. Henry Holt & Co. $2.75.
Malot, Hector. Capl et sa Troupe. Episode de 'Sans Famille.' Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
Martin, A. P. Australia and the Empire. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
McCarrell, Rev. J. Sermons. Dodd, Mead & Co.
Meredith, G. A Reading of Earth. Macmillan & Co.
Metropolitan Church and Choir Directory for New York and Brooklyn. 1889. Metropolitan Printing and Publishing Co.
Montesquieu. De la Grandeur des Romains et de leur Décadence. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
O'Rell—Allen. Jonathan and his Continent. (Rambles through American Society.) Cassell & Co. $1.50.
Owen, Catherine. Progressive Housekeeping. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Pease, Martha A. First Steps in Reading. Chicago: S. R. Winchell & Co. 10 cents.
Platt, J. Business. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 75 cents.
Pushkin, A. Poems. Translated with Notes by Ivan Panin. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. $2.
Raimund, G. Sought and Found. From the German. Funk & Wagnalls. $1.
Ross, J. D. Scottish Poets in America. Paxan & Ross.
Roy, G. For Her Sake: A Tale of Life in Ireland. Thomas Nelson & Sons.
Russell, Rev. F. What Jesus Says: An Arrangement of the Words of Our Savior, under Appropriate Headings. The Baker and Taylor Co. $1.50.
Schenck, Mrs. Elizabeth Hubbell. The History of Fairfield, Connecticut. From the Settlement of the Town in 1639 to 1818. Vol. I. The Author.
Skeat, W. W. Chaucer: The Minor Poems. Macmillan & Co. $2.60.
Zola, E. L'Attaque du Moulin. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.

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